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A HANDBOOK OF THE AFRICAN COLLECTIONS of the COMMERCIAL MUSEUM

Philadelphia

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THE COMMERCIAL MUSEUM has since the 1890's staged many international exhibitions and has become the depository for many international expositions held elsewhere.

One of the outstanding collections received is represented in this handbook on the Africana in the Commercial Museum. The French Colonial Exposition of 1889 and the Paris International Exposition of 1900 are the sources for most of the collection of African ethnological specimens. It is interesting to note that these specimens were presented to the Commercial Museum by the French Government in return for services performed on the part of the founding director, Dr. William Powell Wilson. Dr. Wilson had been sent on the part of the City of Philadelphia to view these international expositions and while in Paris catalogued, on behalf of the Musée de l'Homme, the African materials.

During the initial history of the Commercial Museum, the acquisition of ethnological materials was considered incidental to the task of collecting the tremendous quantities of commercial raw materials to be obtained from international expositions, museums, travelers, and other sources. This reservoir of raw materials has since then become the distribution source for a state-wide social studies school extension program.

A museum visitor of early times might look upon the "curiosities" in the African exhibit as tokens of strange customs and exotic ways of life hardly related to his own. Fortunately, ever-increasing effort to study African culture intensively, has brought about a more sophisticated evaluation of the merit of native cultural traditions, so that today, as the people of Africa regain their economic and political autonomy, we can, with understanding. join them in an appreciation of their own proud heritage.

As custodian of a significant African collection, it seems fitting that the museum publish a handbook designed to re-acquaint the professional scholar with the content of our holdings, and to help the museum visitor to view the pieces on exhibit in terms of the patterns of life in which they once played a part. It is hoped that the African handbook will be the first of a series pertaining to the permanent collections which, after many years in storage, deserve study and publication.

LAWRENCE M. C. SMITH
Chairman
Board of Trade and Conventions

HARRY FERLEGER
Executive Director
Trade and Convention Center

A HANDBOOK OF THE AFRICAN COLLECTIONS of the COMMERCIAL MUSEUM

Philadelphia

by

Harold D. Gunn

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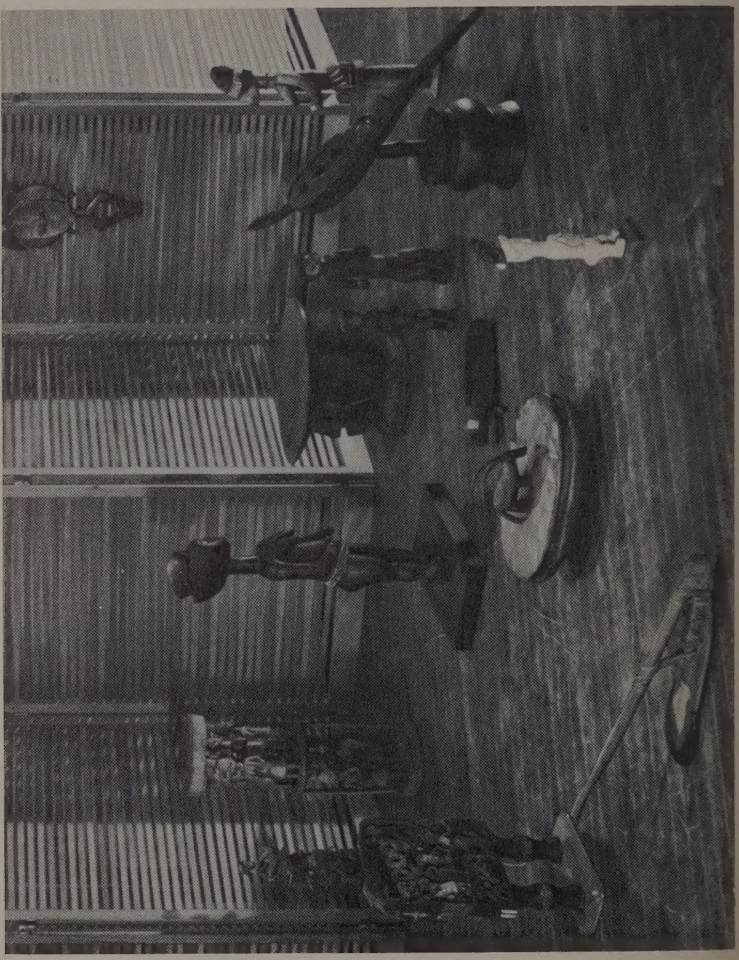
EXPOSITION PARK

FOREWORD

Among the vast collections of the Commercial Museum is an outstanding group of native African artifacts. Mr. Gunn, an experienced Africanist, has written this handbook, not to make you gasp at the beauty of African art, which you can do in almost any museum, but to explain African culture through these objects. He has done a splendid job.

CARLETON S. COON
Curator
The University Museum
Philadelphia

PLATE I



Woodcarving

See page 78 for description.

A HANDBOOK OF THE AFRICAN COLLECTIONS OF THE COMMERCIAL MUSEUM

Table of Contents

	Page
INTRODUCTION	3
THE AFRICAN BACKGROUND	5
The Physical Environment	5
Culture Areas (Regions)	6
The Arts and Crafts	10
Metalwork	10
Pottery	11
Woodcarving	11
Weaving	12
Leatherwork	13
Farming	13
Conclusions	14
Trading	15
Race	16
THE AFRICAN COLLECTIONS OF THE COMMERCIAL MUSEUM	
North Africa	26
The Sahara, Senegal, French and Portuguese Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, and French Sudan	27
Dahomey and Nigeria	37
The Greater Congo Region	56
The Eastern Sudan, the Horn of Africa, and the Greater East Africa Region	63

Plates and Maps

Plate I Woodcarving ..... Facing Page 1
Plate II Textiles ..... Page 20
Plate III Leatherwork ..... Page 22
Plate IV Metalwork ..... Page 24
Plate V North Africa and the Sahara ..... Page 46
Plate VI Senegal, French Sudan, Portuguese Guinea ..... Page 48
Plate VII Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast ..... Page 50
Plate VIII Dahomey, Ghana ..... Page 52
Plate IX Nigeria ..... Page 54
Plate X Northwest Congo Region ..... Page 68
Plate XI South Congo Region ..... Page 70
Plate XII The Eastern Sudan and the Horn of Africa ..... Page 72
Plate XIII Greater East Africa ..... Page 74
Plate XIV Trade Goods Imported by European Agents ..... Page 76
Political & Tribal Maps ..... Center Fold

Photographs by Raymond G. Madill

Edited by Jean M. Dempewolf

INTRODUCTION

THE growing interest in Africa now evident in the United States specially recommends the preparation at this time of a handbook to the African collections of the Commercial Museum. The growing realization too that all Americans share a considerable and precious African cultural heritage — going back to a date earlier than that of the voyage of the Mayflower — gives added value to such a project. Quite apart from the fact that the African collections of the Commercial Museum have — as African collections in this country go — a respectable, even venerable, pedigree, they include a number of specimens that cannot be duplicated in this country, and thus constitute one of America's truly national treasures.

The African ethnological materials in the storage vaults and display cases of the Commercial Museum, numbering some three thousand specimens, reached the Museum largely through some half-a-dozen major channels in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth. The surviving early records of the Commercial Museum are, as might be expected, somewhat fragmentary: from correspondence, inventories, bills of sale, exhibition guides, faded photographs, and frayed newspaper clippings, peeling labels, and, in one instance, an auction catalogue, much of the story can be pieced together, as outlined below (additional details are to be found in the chapters that follow).

In the eighteen nineties, at roughly the same time, three collections of African ethnological specimens were acquired: two, comprising specimens chiefly from Muslim North and Northeast Africa (see below, pp. 26, 27), with a much smaller number from the Guinea Coast region (see pp. 27-37), in the Berlin and the Imperial Austrian (Vienna) Ethnological Museums were exchanged by the German and Austrian governments, respectively, for duplicate botanical specimens at the Commercial Museum; the third was a collection of specimens displayed by the Liberian Government at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1892-3 (see pp. 27-37 below).

The largest single acquisition of African materials, however, came from the Paris International Exposition of 1900. It is noteworthy that French colonial exhibits at that time, roughly half of which — not only from Africa, but from throughout the French empire — eventually reached the Commercial Museum, incorporated much older specimens from the earlier French Colonial Exposition of 1889. The African specimens in this distinguished collection came for the most part from Senegal, French Guinea, French Sudan, Middle Congo, and French Somaliland (Djibuti), with a very few specimens from the Ivory Coast, Gabon, and Ubangi-Shari.

At about the same time, specimens from German East Africa (comprising the present-day British and Belgian United Nations Trusteeship Territories of Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi) were acquired similarly, as a gift of the German government, after the St. Louis-Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904.

In subsequent years, up to about 1930, a considerable number of African materials — illuminating many of the varied aspects of African life — were added, primarily by purchase from private individuals; these rounded out the Commercial Museum's African collections by specimens of note from Northern Rhodesia and French Middle Congo (see pp. 56-63), Nigeria (see pp. 37-45), and elsewhere; and so in time the greater part of the continent has come to be represented, as the pages that follow will show — if in some areas only very modestly.[1]

Fortunately, however, the great bulk of the Museum's specimens comes from that part of Africa that has contributed most significantly to the population and culture of the United States (indeed, of the New World as a whole): from Senegal and the western Sudan, from Nigeria and Dahomey, from the greater Congo region. It is possible, thus, from the Museum's collections to gain much insight into the esthetic sensibilities, and considerable knowledge of the technical skills, that America's African forefathers brought with them to enrich American culture. With tolerance, and with informed appreciation, Americans may yet have further opportunity to profit much from the dynamic, infinitely varied life-ways of Africa;[2] for the future must inevitably bring collaboration between the United States and the re-emerging states of "the Continent of Light."

Suggested further reading

For a full treatment of the question of the African contribution to American culture, see M. J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Harper: New York, 1941).

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[1] The eastern third of the continent, apart from the Somali Coast and a restricted area of Tanganyika, from the Upper Nile south to the Cape of Good Hope (and including the Kalahari Desert and Southwest Africa), is very sketchily represented still in the Commercial Museum's collections: see pp. 64-66.

[2] There is a lesson for all Americans, surely, in the gyroscope, which was invented in remote times as a toy in the heart of the West African jungle! *Cp. pp. 7 (footnote 3) and 34, below.*

THE AFRICAN BACKGROUND to the Commercial Museum's Collections

Before dealing in great detail directly with the Commercial Museum's African collections, it is worthwhile surveying the African background as a whole (though with the Museum's collections especially in mind): the peoples of Africa and their interrelationships, their divergences, the very lay of the land, its resources of all kinds; in short, the circumstances — social and cultural, as well as material and technological — of human life in Africa, insofar as they are known or can be guessed safely on the basis of available evidence.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

PHYSICALLY, the continent of Africa is unique: internally, Africa has few if any really effective, enduring barriers against the wandering of peoples (and externally, it should be noted, none to check the constant flow to Asia and back, via the land-corridor at Suez).[1] Since Roman times at least, and probably a good bit longer, the Sahara has blocked absolutely free movement north and south in the West of Africa; but throughout even this relatively brief period men are known to have crossed and recrossed that formidable desert, on foot, later on camels; and probably no more than three thousand years ago men grazed herds of cattle where only stone and sand remain. On the other hand, movement north and south in the East, along the Niles, thence westward through the Sudan, has continued relatively unimpeded for a very long time indeed.

Other barriers than the Sahara are entirely negligible, so far as developments within the continent as a whole are concerned. There are massive mountain ranges, such as the Atlas in the Northwest, and the Ethiopian Highlands of the Northeast (of which the giant peaks of Kenya, Tanganyika and the eastern Congo are in effect island spurs), but these are peripheral, and not barriers to internal movement such as the Alps and the Himalayas have been in Eurasia, even to some extent the Rockies, in North America.

A case can be made for the equatorial jungle as a deterrent to massive migration, at least in the past—up to about three thousand years ago, perhaps. It is a highly speculative case at best, however, and need not be taken too seriously: the jungle, like the Sahara, is to some extent a thing that comes and goes, spreads and recedes, over the millenia, and must never have been a total barrier to the movement—if occasionally only on a small scale—of peoples and ideas; and, further, as we know it, like the mountains, the jungle of Africa is largely peripheral—most formidable along the Liberian coast, in the Niger delta region, and at the mouths of the great equatorial rivers, the Cameroons, the Ogowe, the Congo.

[1] Other land-bridges have existed in the very remote past between Africa and Europe, most notably at Gibraltar, and between Africa and Asia in the vicinity of Aden.

The effect—further discussed below—of the untrammeled movement of peoples is of course enhanced, or reinforced, by the very length of time that man has dwelt continuously in Africa—possibly longer than anywhere else in the world! Though the ancient past of Africa is little known, and can never be fully known, owing to the particularly destructive effects of the tropics on human remains both biological and cultural, the activities in Africa of archeologists in recent years have produced evidence to suggest as a very good possibility that man may have originated in Africa in the first instance, may have resided there continuously since his emergence as a distinct species, and, further, in Africa assumed his modern form! By contrast, Europe and large parts of Asia—to say nothing of the New World, where in any case there is no possibility of man's having first appeared—have been quite uninhabitable for very long periods during man's relatively short career on earth.

CULTURE AREAS

As a result of the relative freedom of peoples in Africa to move about, in large groups as well as small, continuously from the very earliest appearance of man on earth, and to some extent also as a result of the relative uniformity of the physical environment over truly vast areas of the continent, it is very difficult to make clear-cut distinctions between the cultures —the ways of life—of the different major geographical subdivisions or regions of Africa. Most cultural elements—for example, forms of economic and political organization, industrial techniques, art forms, and so on—found in any one region will be found to recur widely at scattered points throughout the continent. Geographical regions, then, can be differentiated culturally, not so much through truly distinctive features developed locally and restricted in their distribution, as through the distinctive combination of widespread features locally achieved—the outcome of historical accident as much as of adaptation to the environment.

As a matter of fact, there are a few qualitative differences between regions. Bushmen of the Kalahari district, at the time of European penetration of the area, were unique in their reliance on tools of chipped stone, for example. The most striking such regional distinction to be made, however, is that between peoples who have used writing fairly extensively over a long period, to be found from the Sudan (northern tropical Africa) northward, and those who have not, found from the Sudan southward. The Arabic alphabet is used for writing a great variety of languages (including of course the Arabic) in northern Africa; in the Sahara region specifically, one people, the Tuareg, in addition use their own distinctive alphabet, and the Copts—members of the Christian church of Egypt—use a form of writing derived in part ultimately from the otherwise obsolete hieroglyphic script of Ancient Egypt; the Christian peoples of Ethiopia, again, have their own unique alphabet. Though distinctive alphabets have been developed in the past century in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and also in the Cameroons, the vast bulk of the peoples of Africa south of the Sudan appears never to have relied on writing, at least as we know it.[2]

[2] Though writing appears to have been invented in the Middle East hardly more than five thousand years ago, possibly the earliest "written" notation — conjectured to be up to ten thousand years old — has recently been turned up by archeologists in the eastern Sudan, an inscription on bone thought to represent a mathematical table.

Quite apart from writing, of course, but curiously associated with it, are two further "cultural traits" or elements, the plough and the wheel, both found in Africa's northerly regions, and steadfastly rejected or ignored elsewhere.[3]

Other qualitative cultural differences between regions in Africa are minor, and require considerable qualification. It can be said, for example, that the peoples of northernmost Africa all speak languages belonging to the great Afro-Asiatic language family (Arabic, Ethiopic, Berber, and so on); on the other hand, such languages are by no means restricted to the North—for example, Hausa, Arabic, and Tamashek (the language of the Tuareg), all belonging to the same family, are widely spoken in the Sudan. Similarly, it can be said that by far the greater number of peoples of the central region of Africa (the Congo basin) speak Bantu languages of the Niger-Congo family; but Bantu languages are widely spoken in East Africa, as well. And finally, languages of the Khoisan family are restricted almost entirely to the southwestern sector of the Greater East African region, spoken by Bushmen and Hottentots, and a few hundred people largely restricted to two isolated communities in Kenya and Tanganyika; but, of course, a majority in the region speak other languages—chiefly the Bantu (Niger-Congo family) and the Nilotic (Macro-Sudanic, or Shari-Nile family).

This lack of qualitative differences between regions does not mean, however, that in Africa there are no sharply differentiated ways of life. On the contrary, nowhere is there a richer, more exciting variety; dramatic distinctions must be recognized between the way of life of peoples that subsist entirely by hunting and that of farmers, between that of peoples that spend virtually their lives herding cattle (and raiding the herds of their neighbors) and that of fishermen, between that of townsmen and that of country farmers; but hunters and herdsmen, fishermen and farmers, bourgeois and boors are to be found all over Africa, limited to no single region! There are very plain distinctions, too, to be made between the way of life of peoples organized in massive, spreading tribal groups and that of peoples that live in mere villages, jealously preserving their independence and their local peculiarities, between that of peoples constituting vast kingdoms, even empires, and that of those ruled by representative councils and by popular movements; but again such varied types of society as these are to be found widely, represented in every region—no matter how carefully the boundaries may be contrived.

Qualitative cultural differences do exist, then, but these are not distributed in such a way as to set regions apart; the very real regional cultural differences that can be observed in the Commercial Museum's collections, then, are primarily quantitative—such differences lie in the varying combinations of universal cultural elements achieved locally in each region.

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[3] It is a typically African curiosity that the gyroscope — probably basically one of the most complex arrangements of wheels possible — was based ultimately on a Liberian invention — in an area traditionally quite wheelless! — before the arrival of the first Portuguese explorers in the fifteenth century! See p. 34 below.

Various authors differentiate between from two to twenty-two different regions, in Africa. Here, eight is deemed a sufficient number for dealing with the collections of the Commercial Museum; these are presented in table form below, proceeding from North to South, and West to East (see map).

I

NORTH AFRICA: The rugged, semi-arid to arid northern rim of the continent (the southern shore of the Mediterranean). Mineral resources; farming (wheat, dates); livestock (cattle, sheep, goats, horses, camels); crafts (metal-work, pottery, leather-work, weaving). A region of large, old Muslim kingdoms, of ancient cities, towns and villages, into which a number of large nomadic tribal groups—in the mountainous hinterland, on the fringes of the Sahara—has been integrated. Peoples referred to in text (alternative names, names of important subdivisions, or of associated peoples, in parentheses): Arabs, Berbers (Kabyles)[4], and Moors.

II

THE SAHARA DESERT (including the Libyan Desert): Inland from North Africa, extending from the Atlantic to the Nile Valley, south to an uneven line between 15° and 20° north latitude. Salt mines; livestock (camels); farming (dates) in the oases; crafts. A region of desert nomads, and a few old, permanent or semi-permanent settlements (in the oases). Peoples: Arabs, Moors, Tuareg.

III

THE WESTERN SUDAN: Inland from the Senegal shore of the Atlantic to the western rim of the basin of Lake Chad, semi-arid (heavy rains for from four to six months of the year only) grasslands, lightly wooded to heavily forested along water-courses, rolling country with many granite outcroppings, often in massive pillar formations (as in some parts of the southwestern U. S.). Scattered mineral deposits (columbite, some tin and gold, and others); important sylvan produce (sheanuts, locust beans, gums); farming (peanuts exported); livestock (cattle, sheep, goats, horses); crafts (a wide range, though with considerable local specialization—hence, variation). Many large kingdoms and empires, with many old cities, mobile villages; also, numerous pockets of decentralized, independent tribal groups, large and small. Peoples: Abakpariga, Bambara, Chamba, Dyola, Fulbe (Fula, Fulani, Peulh)[5], Hausa, Jukun, Kisi, Mande (Malinke, Mandingo, Manya, Sarakole, Soninke, etc.), Nupe, Serer, Tekrur (Tukolor, Toucouleur), Tiv, Turu, Wolof (Jolof).

IV

THE GUINEA COAST: The coastal region from Portuguese Guinea South and East to the delta of the Niger River, extending inland for

[4] Kabyle: pronounced *kab'eel*.

[5] Except in the name Kabyle (see preceding note), final *-e* in African names in this handbook is always pronounced approximately as *-ay;* thus, "Fulbe" is pronounced *ful'bay;* etc.

a distance increasing from less than fifty to more than one hundred miles as the eastern limit is approached; rainfall often heavy, falling virtually throughout the year, particularly at the eastern and western limits of the region, where dense tropical rain-forest (jungle) occurs. Minerals localized mainly (iron, gold, diamonds); farming (cocoa, coffee locally exported); livestock (goats, sheep, some pigs—cattle rare owing to endemic disease); sylvan produce (palm-nuts, timber, raphia); some ivory (rapidly declining); crafts (as in III, above). Socio-political organization much as in III. Peoples: Ashanti, Baga (Nalu), Basa, Belle, Bidyogo, Bulom, De, Egba, Egun, Fon, Gbande, Gio (Ngere; French, Dan, Guere), Gola, Grebo, Ijo, Itsekiri (Jekri), Kpelle (Kpwesi), Kru, Kyama (Ebrie), Landuma, Loma (Toma), Mende, Vai, Yoruba (Nago).

V

THE GREATER CONGO: Except in the Northwest (the Southern Cameroons) and along the eastern border, where there are isolated mountain peaks, this region combines the natural features of III and IV, above, being somewhat more than ninety per cent lightly wooded, rolling "parkland," and less than ten per cent jungle (the latter now the refuge of Africa's Pygmy hunting peoples). Important minerals (uranium and copper, some gold and diamonds, especially in the Belgian Congo); farming; livestock and crafts much as in IV, above. Socio-political organization as in III and IV, except that indigenous settlements are rarely large or old. Peoples: Chokwe (Badjok, etc.), Fang (Fan, Pahouin), Kaonde, Kongo, Kota, Kuba (Bushoong), Luena (Luvale), Lozi (Rozi, Rotse), Mbunda, Mbundu (Bihe), Mgbaka (Ngbaka, Bwaka), Ngoli, Ntumba, Songe, Subya, Teke, Tonga, Totela, Vili, Yombe.

VI

THE EASTERN SUDAN: In most respects no more than an extension of the western Sudan (III) to the basin of the Upper Nile and tributaries, and via a narrow corridor to the Red Sea (vicinity of Port Sudan and Suakin); possibly somewhat more arid (through groundwater generally plentiful for half the year). Farming less important traditionally than livestock (though peanuts are now exported from some localities); natural resources include locust-beans, gum, and ivory; crafts as in III, but less important. Territory about equally divided between large kingdoms (centering about ancient settlements) and massive, decentralized tribal groups. Peoples: Arabs, Kanuri, Koyam.

VII

THE HORN OF AFRICA: A very rugged highland mass pointing from the eastern headwaters of the Nile into the Indian Ocean; including Christian Ethiopia, and Muslim Eritrea and the Somalilands; semi-arid. Rich in minerals; farming locally important in Ethiopia; livestock generally traditionally favored. Socio-political situation as in VI. Peoples: Danakil, Ethiopians, Galla, Somali.

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GREATER EAST AFRICA: Largely high, rolling, grassy plains, from the Upper Nile basin (in the Sudanese Republic) southward to the Cape of Good Hope, and including the Kalahari Desert and Southwest Africa; in the main little more than an extension and in some respects an intensification of the Sudan. Rich in minerals toward the South; livestock traditionally favored; farming groups (with the important exception of immigrant Europeans) being largely subordinated; hunting predominant in the Kalahari; crafts relatively undeveloped, except among Bantu-speaking peoples. Massive decentralized tribal groups predominant, with a few old kingdoms toward the South; virtually no large settlements of any age anywhere. Peoples: Bushmen, Ganda, Masai, Tswana, Tusi, Zaramo, Zulu.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS

A number of generalizations regarding Africans and their ways of life remain to be made that can in fact be more economically stated at some length than tabulated. These relate to such diverse topics as technology and trade, on the one hand, and to biological race, on the other. A summary here of the main points, in these several connections, will obviate the necessity of much repetition in later sections.

As regards the arts, the crafts, and trading, it should be stressed that all three are of prime importance throughout Africa, but that they are subject to almost infinite variation, from district to district in every region—though again certain features recur frequently over the continent. The interrelation between the crafts and trading is, of course, plain: the great wealth of crafts in Africa is in large part sustained by trade, both casual and intensive.

Metal-work. Virtually universal African crafts include metal-work, pottery, woodcarving, gourd-decorating, weaving and basketry, and leather-work. The most widespread and accessible mineral resource—not only in Africa, but throughout the tropical and equatorial zones of the world, owing much to the heavy rainfall—is iron. In Africa, iron-working is so ancient and universal a craft that some authorities consider that it may have originated at some point independently in the interior of West Africa; there is also evidence, more generally credited, that it was introduced, at least into the eastern regions, from the Iranian region, via South Arabia. In a great part of the continent blacksmiths are peculiarly differentiated socially from the rest of the population: in a few instances, smiths appear to constitute separate small tribes, though usually they are integrated into larger societies simply as separate families; among certain herding peoples, particularly in East Africa, smiths are considered inferior, while among the peoples of the Congo and at various points farther West, smiths are accorded the highest rank, politically, ritually and, of course, socially.

In addition to iron, brass and copper are very widely worked in Africa, both by hammering and by casting ("lost-wax" method); to a lesser extent, gold, bronze and tin (also silver, chiefly in the northern regions).

Artifacts in iron include farming tools, weapons, and blacksmiths' tools, fish-hooks, needles, and a few ornaments (rings, bangles, chains). Wrought-iron sculpture is known, but is exceedingly rare. A few musical instruments utilize iron parts (for example, the sanza or "thumb-piano"); certain bells and gongs are very commonly made of iron, on the other hand.

Artifacts in copper and brass include primarily art-objects of various sorts (cast figurines, masks), jewelry (pendants, earrings, bangles and so on), and, sporadically, various kinds of containers, both cast and hammered, as well as pipe-bowls. Weapons are very rarely made of these metals, though sword- and ax-handles, for example, may be decorated with brass and/or copper.

Pottery. In general, pottery is a woman's craft. Typically, it is produced by molding wet clay over a form (often a gourd bowl) up to a point, and then building up the mouth of the jar, pot or bowl by coiling strips of clay; in the northern regions, some form of potters' wheel may be used. True glazes, too, are limited to the northern area, where painted pottery, varnished after firing, is also found; from the Sudan southward, pottery is most often decorated by patterns of lines incised or impressed at some point before firing, but occasionally it may be decorated or colored by means of slip (red or black, most commonly) before firing, or stained after, and finally polished with beeswax (polished African pottery can be mistaken at a glance for glazed ware).

Apart from cooking-pots and water-jars, purely decorative pieces (including statuary) are widely produced, as are clay pipe-bowls. Clay pottery is everywhere supplemented by other sorts of containers for the carrying and storing of water, liquid foods and the like: leather bags in the desert, finely woven basketry in the eastern regions, ostrich egg-shells in the eastern Sudan and the Kalahari, metal from the Guinea Coast northward, and everywhere gourd and wood bowls.

Wood-carving. Wood-carving is virtually universal to some degree, being naturally most important in wooded regions: the distinctive African iron adz, either socketed or tanged, is everywhere used, even in the execution of relatively fine detail (at which point it may be supplemented or displaced by knives of various sorts); adz-marks are frequently in evidence in African wood-work, and much admired—by Africans and non-Africans alike—for the textured effect.

Artifacts in wood are too numerous to list. It is worth mentioning specifically, however, that a very great proportion of the African art-works most valued in this country and in Europe (as well as in Africa) is sculptured in wood, including masks, figurines, and stools; musical instruments also are most often of wood, as well as numerous household articles of daily use.

Commonly throughout Africa objects made of light-colored woods and also gourd bowls and bottles may be specially decorated by incised and burnt lines: a small hot knife is very frequently used in this work; or the lines may be first incised, and then burnt with a hot nail. Somewhat

similar work is produced in Northwest Oceania, using both gourds and bamboo, but nonetheless African work of this sort is quite distinctive: there are numerous examples of this typically African craft in the collections of the Commerical Museum, from districts as far separated as Senegal (western Sudan) and Rhodesia (Congo region).

Wood of course has many virtues, including those of beauty and variety, as well-recognized by Africans as by ourselves, but the fact that it is plentiful must be an important consideration, in Africa and elsewhere in the tropics, for there wood deteriorates very rapidly indeed, succumbing to the ravages of the climate, of rot, and of wood-devouring insects. Accordingly, those specimens of wood-work that reach museums are of no great age, so that materials like the great bulk of the Commercial Museum's African collections, that can be certified to be fifty and seventy-five years of age, are deemed positively venerable—objects of the greatest rarity and value.

Weaving. The weaving of cloth and mats, and basketry are crafts about equally divided among all segments of the population, generally speaking—men and women, children and adults. As regards textiles, broad vertical looms are generally used by women, to weave cloth of a fixed length (up to three or four times its breadth), whereas narrow horizontal looms are used by men, to produce strips that are many yards in length: to a great extent women are casual weavers, whereas men are more apt to be full-time specialists.

Though looms current over most of the continent bear a clear relationship to looms early in use in Asia, the distinctive raphia-cloth loom most common in the Kasai-Sankuru district of the Congo (but found also at scattered points along the Guinea Coast) is thought to be a local, independent invention.

When clothing is tailored, as it is often for men from the Guinea Coast northward (very rarely for women, except in the extreme North), strips—of the broad cloth or the narrow—are sewn together before cutting; where women wear cloth at all, most frequently a piece approximately two yards square (typically formed by sewing together two matched cloths woven by women) is wrapped around the body beneath the arms (in a few districts, men are clothed similarly), though it is not uncommon for both men and women to wear a single small cloth, kilt-like about the hips. Apparently universally, the actual tailoring of clothing is typically a man's job.

In general, the decoration—or coloring—of cloth is rather subdued, contrary to popular belief in this country: for the most part, indigo, white and black are preferred; bright colors such as red and yellow are used with great restraint or avoided, except in accessories (such as a woman's headcloth or shawl). There are a few cases, however, where bright colors in clothing are the rule, but then normally imported cloth, usually with printed patterns, is utilized: everywhere, imported cloth is scorned, except in rare cases used only for work-clothes, whereas local, hand-woven cloth is highly valued, reserved for dignified, ceremonial occasions.

The coloring and decoration of cloth is achieved in a number of ways: the thread may be dyed before it is woven; or the finished cloth may be dyed, either with or without patterns produced by stenciling (resist-dyeing) or tying up the cloth (tie-dyeing); or finally by embroidering a finished cloth or garment. Embroidery, tying and stenciling cloths, and the dyeing of thread and cloth are usually restricted to one sex or the other, but there seems to be no general rule for the whole of Africa as to which sex does which job! Tie-dyeing, though well-represented in the Commercial Museum's collections, is a very rare craft, apparently virtually limited to West Africa, India, Indonesia, and Japan.

The fibers used in weaving include most commonly cotton and raphia (the two being sometimes combined); in the northern regions, camel's hair and wool supplement cotton. The spinning of thread is done primarily by women.

Large, coarse, flexible mats, used mostly for sleeping and as floor-coverings, are generally manufactured by males—small boys and old men. Palm (including but not exclusively raphia) and various other vegetable fibers are used; decorative effects are produced by dyeing the fiber before weaving or plaiting, and by using varied materials with contrasting natural colors (as for example leather and vegetable fiber). Small round mats, typically used to cover food-bowls, are usually produced by women, as are also baskets, though in some districts men—particularly the old—may also weave baskets, and certain specialized types, such as fish-traps, are quite commonly made by men.

Leather-work. Leather is utilized in Africa in probably a greater variety of ways than any other single substance, as plainly evidenced by the Commercial Museum's collections. It may be tanned and dyed, painted, incised, sewn, woven, embroidered, and in various other ways combined with other materials, stamped, even moulded or wrought; it is used in making containers of many sorts, cushions, clothing, footgear and weapons, and in decorating varied objects. In general, as might be expected, leather is most utilized in regions where either game or domestic animals are numerous, and possibly rather more in semi-arid and arid regions, where the life of leather is longer, than in wet. Except possibly to a limited extent in restricted areas (as among the Saharan Tuareg, and also among the Bushmen of the Kalahari), leather-work appears to be strictly a monopoly of men.

Farming. Farming is not ordinarily regarded as a craft of the same sort as those treated to this point. However, it may well be considered here, if for no other reason because of the diligence with which Africans work their land, the love which they bestow on their crops and their tools—there is for example immediately apparent a powerful esthetic appeal in the range of hoes, lovingly wrought and constructed, from even a single region, the western Sudan, in the Commercial Museum's collections.

Contrary to popular notions regarding the ease of life in tropical countries, gaining a living from the soil, in Africa, at least, is an arduous, and

never a very secure, occupation. To begin with, quite apart from the possibility of drought, locust-infestation, and the like, the soil is not unusually rich, as a rule; the heavy rains of summer—when they come—leach out the fertility at a rapid rate; cattle-diseases in many areas reduce the possibility of restoring the soil-fertility by grazing and/or manuring; and the intense winter-long drought of most regions renders the soil, particularly that of fields under cultivation, like stone: Europe and America—for all their vaunted conquest of space—have yet to build machinery that will stand up to conditions that prevail over a good part of Africa; so that the hand-wielded hoe cannot yet be replaced economically in most areas!

"Slash-and-burn" cultivation is the rule. A field, when its fertility has dwindled to the point of no return, is abandoned, and reverts rapidly to "bush"; trees and grass are removed, often by burning, from a fresh plot, which is worked—rotating the crops, usually—for a period of some years, and then, in turn, it is abandoned; and so on. The system is deplored by all outsiders, but, as indicated, alternative systems have yet to be worked out. Though its cost in labor is undoubtedly high, hoe-cultivation of the sort—pursued with African diligence—has sufficed to feed (hence stimulate the growth of) great cities, from time immemorial, as in the western Sudan and Guinea Coast regions of West Africa.

At the same time, the system must have played a very considerable role generally in creating Africa as we know it today—stimulating, in concert with other forces, when not alone, the incessant movement of peoples already noted as fundamental to the most characteristic of African cultural realities. The effect on the physical character of the continent, however, once supposed appreciable (through possibly desiccating, and intensifying erosion in, whole regions—such as North Africa, the Sahara and the Sudan), is now commonly regarded as debatable.

Conclusions. Generally speaking, every individual—often from an early age—pursues a great variety of arts and crafts, in Africa. In every region, indeed in every district (if in some districts only under very special circumstances, as among the Bushmen of the Kalahari) special aptitude and inclination may lead, in time, to full-time specialization, though the opportunity for full-time pursuit of a single craft is best in complex areas, particularly in large, centralized societies with urban centers. Typically, the individual devotes his main efforts to food-production through the growing season, which averages possibly eight months a year. Even then, however, in most areas, there are periods of leisure each day, more or less enforced, either by deluges or by the merciless sun at midday; and, of course, still longer periods may be free for such pursuits between harvest and planting.

As regards African art in general, three points must be made. First, that as a whole Africans do not conceive of art as a special field, a category apart, as some of us in our everyday life somewhat erroneously are inclined to do; in spite of this fact, certain types of products are to be found sporadically that correspond closely to our notion of "fine art"—articles produced solely for their appeal to the esthetic sense; and, on the

other hand, very frequently an essentially commonplace, utilitarian article is decorated so elaborately, or so effectively, that either the craftsman or his client may feel impelled to elevate it in effect to the realm of fine art by setting it aside for display, for admiration, rather than sacrificing it to any utilitarian consideration.

Second, it seems clear that there is, accordingly, an esthetic element—relatively great—in most or all African work (this point is possibly the clearer to us simply because of the high prestige that we accord to handwork). Thus, in Africa, it is very difficult to sustain any clear-cut distinction between the arts and crafts. Even when it comes to objects that we should label "fine art," Africans seem generally far less naive than we, for they affirm publicly (as it were) that these, too, have certain utilitarian functions—as objects that will enhance the prestige of individuals, villages and tribes that produce or possess them, with a variety of attendant material effects in the realms of economics and politics, even, on occasion, of religion (considerations that we are apt to fail to recognize, or to deny even when we are aware of them secretly!).

Finally, it is worth noting that there is no evidence that the centuries-long contact with Europe (that saw the rise and decline of the slave-trade, and culminated in the partition and occupation of Africa by European colonial powers in the nineteenth century) has had important effects, up to the present moment, directly on the arts and crafts of Africa. The crafts that are practiced today are the same crafts that the earliest European explorers found in Africa. There have been indirect effects, however: the relative importance of various activities—in some areas more than in others—has been altered, partly as a result of the availability of cheap goods from Europe, and partly as a result of the demand in Europe (and America) for certain types of raw materials, which has had the effect, in Africa, of channeling labor away from traditional pursuits. For example, the smelting of iron has declined almost everywhere, though native-forged iron, with many of the qualities of European steel, is superior to imported iron for farming tools, in particular; but the import of cheap iron is advantageous insofar as it results in the conservation of firewood, which is scarce in wide areas (there is virtually no coal in Africa). Sculpture in wood has largely disappeared from some areas, as a result of the disruption of indigenous society in the process of colonialization; for, as indicated, such art is tightly integrated in many respects with the social organization, the political, economic and religious systems of a people. On the whole the arts of Africa have proven very durable; and African value systems, it must be recalled, have evolved in an environment where life has been characterized, for many thousands of years, by incessant movement, new and varied contacts between peoples, and attendant opportunities for culture-change.

TRADING

Naturally associated with Africa's proliferation of the arts and crafts is trading. The precise extent of strictly internal trade has never been measured; its importance, however, is taken for granted by every first-hand observer of African realities. All larger population-centers have brisk daily

markets; cyclical weekly or semi-weekly markets are held in virtually every village and at every cross-roads. The great Sudanese emporia, such as Timbuktu, Katsina and Kano were known by repute in medieval Europe nearly five hundred years before the first Portuguese explorer had coasted past Cape Palmas into the Gulf of Guinea. In the Congo basin, as in Senegal, vast regional markets permit the full-time specialization of whole castes, whole villages, whole tribes.

In many areas, some form of money was current: gold, distinctive iron artifacts of various sorts (sometimes simulating implements—particularly hoes), rods of brass or iron, bars, ingots, crosses and bangles of copper, even fine mats and cloths, and the ubiquitous cowry-shell, traded all over Africa from the Red Sea Coast.

Today, as probably also in the past, a very large proportion of trading is in the hands of women; but long-distance operations (and native-made goods may travel hundreds of miles by camel-caravan, by river, by foot) are in the hands of men, though even these may be undertaken on the initiative of and financed by women. In general, too, it should be noted that trading occupies the time of more people in the dry season than in the wet—for all the obvious reasons.

RACE

Turning from trade and technology, finally, to the matter of biological race, there is scarcely space here for adequate consideration of the question. It is conventionally stated that members of the Caucasoid or "white" race predominate in the North African and Saharan regions, and in a large part of the Horn of Africa and the eastern Sudan, and members of the Negroid race elsewhere, to the south; however, at the present time authorities lean toward the view that such a statement is simply misleading. In both the northern and the southern regions, the variations in skin-color, eye and hair-color, hair-texture, lip- and nose-form are far greater than is commonly understood—indeed, have to be observed first-hand to be grasped! And between these two large groupings—dark and light—in Africa there is no sharp line, further.

It must be recalled, of course, that clearly defined races emerge from the common pool of humanity equally through the isolation of a group and subsequent inbreeding over a period, and through the progressive interbreeding between two (or more) biologically contrasting groups in contact, but otherwise isolated: the conditions of life prevailing in Africa now repeatedly touched upon (lack of internal barriers, the incessant movement of peoples, and so on) must have contributed much to the biological complexity of the populations of the continent, to the diversity of human types to be encountered in every region.

Some authorities on race recognize in fact no fewer than four distinct races among the darker colored peoples of Africa south of the Sahara, and reckon a very large proportion of the whole population to represent varying degrees and kinds of intermixtures among them. And the same authorities describe a similar situation among the somewhat lighter colored peoples of the north, though apparently on a reduced scale.

Finally, all the possible combinations of these varied "basic" groupings are to be found, scattered over the entire continent.

In any case, whether a simpler or a more complex system of racial classification is used, no racial group is wholly contained in any region; all overlap to some extent; that is to say that no single group—large or small—is wholly homogeneous, racially, that every region is thus highly varied, and that racial "types" recur widely over the continent outside the region or regions in which they may be most frequently encountered.

There is a certain fascination in cataloguing the highly varied racial characteristics of Africans, north and south; as indicated already, there is not space here for an exhaustive treatment of the subject, but a point is to be made by mentioning in passing certain features that specially stimulate the imagination.

The first attempt to catalogue African races of which any record remains was made by Ancient Egyptians: in a painting which has been preserved from twelve hundred years before Christ, it is clear that Egyptians saw fair hair and blue eyes as a distinctive—though not necessarily typical — combination among the peoples to the west of Egypt in North Africa[6]; themselves they saw as very dark, but not so dark in color as a Negroid type depicted in the same painting—probably a native of Nubia, the territory adjacent to Egypt on the south, whose peoples today rank among the world's darkest (and who may very well have contributed some part or all of the color that Egyptians noted in their own skins).

In general, among the peoples of the Sudan, east and west, and also the Nilotic peoples in that sector of East Africa that is adjacent to the Sudan, the very darkest skins are to be found—by no means usually accompanied by a broad nose, thick, everted lips, or very woolly hair. Though in general the frequent combination of these four traits is undeniable, the notion is far from accurate that among Africans their combination is inevitable: among for example the Fulbe of the western Sudan, a light-colored skin commonly accompanies the so-called Negroid hair, lips and nose; among the Bini and Ibo of the eastern Guinea Coast, light coloring is very frequent, and was noted there even by the very first Europeans recorded by history to have reached their country—the Portuguese, in the sixteenth century; and the wooliest hair of all is that of the thin-lipped, light-skinned Bushmen of the Kalahari.

The Nilotic peoples share with certain other peoples of East Africa (such as the Watusi) the distinction of being, on the average, the tallest people in the world; the Pygmies of the Congo region and bordering districts of East Africa are among the smallest. The Pygmies—known also to the Ancient Egyptians—are racially distinctive in several ways: they have probably the flattest nose (more correctly, the lowest nose-bridge) of any people thus far measured; they have the greatest amount of body

[6] If these traits were actually *typical*, more than three thousand years ago, they are no longer, though they do occur sporadically in the same area today. On the other hand, if the population of North Africa has perhaps grown on the average darker, as a result presumably of contacts with peoples of the South, the reverse of the process may be evidenced by the not infrequent occurrence of blue eyes — even combined with very dark skin — and of sizeable light-skinned populations in Africa below the Sahara: cp. succeeding paragraphs of the text.

hair of any African people (being in this respect most like certain Caucasoid—"white"—peoples); and their skin-color is sometimes described as "reddish"—a trait that brings to the mind of some observers the Bushmen, also a very small people.

In fact, "reddish" skin seems to be a widespread trait in Africa: it is certainly attributed widely, to a number of peoples, by observers; but the description may well represent simply a convention of speech, rather than accurate observation (Africans themselves usually characterize the "white" skin of Europeans as "red," as a matter of fact). Apart from the Pygmies, and, less often, the Bushmen, Europeans have called "red-skinned" such peoples as the Fon of Dahomey and the Ashanti of Ghana (both in the Guinea Coast region), and various peoples of the western Sudan (for example, certain of the Mande-speaking peoples of Senegal and neighboring districts, and the Fulbe, who range virtually through the Sudan), as well as the Masai and the Zulu of East Africa. This list is presumed, of course, to exclude cases where innocent European travelers have mistaken as natural skin-coloration the rich orange-red cosmetic paint (camwood) used in many districts and all regions south of the Sahara on occasion over the entire body!

Suggested further reading

The best general survey of Africa available is John Gunther's *Inside Africa* (Harper: N. Y., 1955).[7] Of the greatest interest also is the American Assembly's *The United States and Africa* (Walter Goldschmidt, Editor; Columbia University: N. Y., June, 1958).

The best easily accessible work in English on African culture-areas, and also on African art is probably M. J. Herskovits' *Background of African Art* (Denver Art Museum: Denver, 1945), but for those who read French a more detailed work (hence, a better work) on culture-areas is H. Baumann's *Les peuples et les civilisations de l'Afrique* (Payot: Paris, 1948). For pictures, possibly the best single work (because widely varied objects are depicted in full color) is H. T. Bossert's *Folk Art of Primitive Peoples*[8] (Praeger: N. Y., no date).

Works on African technology, apart from relatively short, highly specialized articles, mostly in rather obscure periodicals, are rare. Larger libraries may have one or another (if not all) of the following titles:

(1) Schweinfurth, Georg. *Artes Africanae* (text in both English and German; Brockhaus: Leipzig, 1875). Deals with a wide variety of arts and crafts among several peoples of the southern and

[7] This book unfortunately presents facts thoroughly seasoned with misinformation, and is, for that reason, full of errors of interpretation (as Gunther himself might well be the first to admit possible — even probable!), but it is free of malice, and, as it records faithfully the impact of African reality on an intelligent, inquiring and sensitive American traveler of our time, it must be conceded that reading it is, for a fellow-American, the next-best thing to taking the trip himself.

[8] The first twelve plates depict a total of 145 specimens from Africa: a distortion of reality is involved, since these specimens were chosen for their vivid colors, and in fact neutral and subdued colors are commoner than bright, in African work. Also, the title of the book is misleading in that works of contemporary peoples only are shown — not the works of true primitives, the peoples of remote prehistory.

southwestern headwaters of the Nile (where the eastern Sudan, East African and Congo regions meet).

(2) Roth, H. Ling. *Studies in Primitive Looms,* (Bankfield Museum: Halifax, Yorkshire, England, 1950; 3rd edition; first printed as a series of articles in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1916-18).

(3) Cline, Walter. *Mining and Metallurgy in Negro Africa.* General Series in Anthropology, No. 5 (George Banta: Menasha (Wisc.), 1937).

Regarding African languages (to which reference is frequently made in this handbook), see J. H. Greenberg's *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (Compass: New Haven, 1955).

Concerning race, a convenient work to consult is *What Is Race?* (UNESCO: Paris, 1952.)

A new work, the most comprehensive treatment in English of the traditional culture of the whole of Africa, is G. P. Murdock's *Africa, Its Peoples and Their Culture History* (McGraw Hill: N. Y., 1959).

PLATE II

Textiles

1. Vertical loom, with woman's cotton headcloth, patterned in violet and yellow-ochre; 42 inches high, 45 inches broad. Northern Nigeria (Donga, Benue Province); Abakpariga.
2. Headcloth or shawl (cotton), dyed indigo; 54 inches long, 36 inches broad. Guinea.
3. Man's cotton gown, embroidered in pink and blue (natural cotton ground); 40 inches long (shoulder-line to hem). Liberia; Kono (Guinea).
4. Cotton textile woven in 5-inch strips (men's horizontal loom), sewn to form cloth 45 x 90 inches. Senegal-Sudanese Republic.
5. Cotton textile woven in 5-inch strips (men's horizontal loom), sewn to form cloth 58 x 82 inches. Senegal-Sudanese Republic.
6. Cotton cloth, finely patterned in indigo and white; 84 inches long, 8 inches wide. Northern Nigeria; Abakpariga - Jukun, or Yoruba of Kabba (?).
7. Raphia cloth, faintly patterned in brown; 47 x 108 inches. Congo Republic, Bateke.
8. Barkcloth, stained red ochre; 62 x 44 inches. Uganda; Baganda.
9. Fine cotton cloth; tie-dye pattern. 50 x 104 inches. Senegal; Soninke.
10. Tie-dyed (indigo) cloth, partially unfolded; 4 x 110 inches. Senegal; Soninke.
11. Cotton turban cloth, heavily dyed indigo and pounded; approximately 18 inches x 12 feet. Northern Nigeria (Kano?); Hausa.
12. Cap of cotton cloth patterned in red, yellow, white and indigo; circumference, 8 inches.
13. Cloth, indigo and white; 144 inches long, 4 inches wide (woven on man's horizontal loom). Sudanese Republic; Bambara (?).
14. Monoxyl tailor's "pressing board," with burnt-incised pattern; 30 inches long, 7 inches high. Senegal; Laobe (Fulbe).
15. Beaters (for cloth); right, 17 inches and, left, 19 inches long. Senegal; Laobe (Fulbe).
16. Monoxyl dye-vat (as used in preparing goods like 11); 18 inches long, 7 inches wide, 6 inches high. Senegal; Laobe (Fulbe).
17. Cake of indigo dye. French Sudan; Bambara (?).
18. Monoxyl block on which seeds are worked out of raw cotton; 17 inches long, 4 inches wide, 4 inches high. Senegal; Laobe (Fulbe).
19. Shuttles, carved of wood. Senegal.
20. Left, spindle, with painted pottery whorl. Dahomey. Right, cotton thread on spindle (wooden whorl). Northern Nigeria.
21. Barkcloth beater, ivory, stained red-ochre; 11 inches long. Belgian Congo (Ubangi district); Mgbaka.

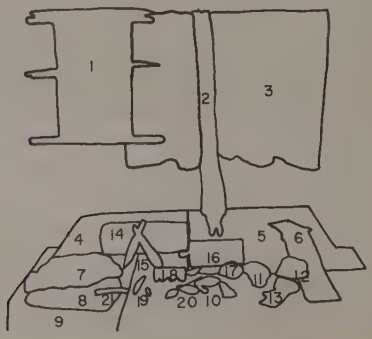


PLATE III

Leatherwork

1. Leather hanging, pattern worked in green and yellow beads. 47 x 35 inches. Somaliland.
2. Skin bottle, 24 inches long. Senegal; Sahara.
3. Shield, burnt-incised pattern; 42 inches high, 34 inches wide. Sahara; Tuareg.
4. Rawhide shield, impressed designs; diameter, 22 inches. Somaliland.
5. Leather scabbard (with sword), stained, with impressed patterns; 35 inches long. Senegal; Wolof.
6. Furred blanket (hyrax skins?), trimmed with red, Morocco leather; 64 x 112 inches. Senegal or Saraha; Moorish (?).
7. Morocco leather cushion, patterned (obverse); diameter, 17 inches. Northern Nigeria; Hausa.
8. Morocco leather case, patterned; 6 x 4 x 2 inches. Senegal; Saraha.
9. Morocco leather bag, patterned; 6 inches wide (at mouth). Senegal-Sahara-Sudanese Republic; Tuareg (?).
10. Leather ceremonial cap, stained red, with painted designs in black. Guinea; Kisi (?).
11. Wooden club or scepter, covered with leather, stained and polished; 22 inches long. Senegal.
12. Powder horn, leather covering; length, 18 inches. Senegal; Mandingo.
13. Necklace of leather-bound amulets, alternately red and black, with impressed patterns. Senegal.
14. Leather sandals; left, rawhide, impressed design; 11 inches long. Horn of Africa (?). Right, Morocco leather, stained and impressed designs; 10 inches long. Senegal.

PLATE IV

Metalwork

1. Spears (left to right): Serrated iron blade, spiked weight; 47 inches. Iron blade and weight, wooden shaft decorated with skin and leather; 44 inches overall length. Ceremonial spear of iron, rattle in shaft; 47 inches. Liberia; Mandingo. Iron blade, weight; 81 inches. Senegal. Iron blade (twisted multiple barbs) and weight; 46 inches. Cameroons; Fang-Bulu.
2. Arrows (left to right): Multiple-feathered cane shaft, iron point; 32 inches. Northern Rhodesia; Totela. Unfeathered cane shaft, shouldered brass point; 31 inches. Remaining arrows, unfeathered cane shafts, iron points; 25 inches. Senegal.
3. Hand-worked brass tray (imported stock); diameter 18 inches. Senegal.
4. (Top) Sword in wooden scabbard decorated with brass studs, overall length, 18 inches. (Bottom) Broad sword, handle decorated with brass studs and wire; 19 inches. Belgian Congo; Ntumba.
5. Sword, hilt covered with brass, Tuareg pattern; 34 inches. Togo; Hausa.
6. Pair, "throwing-irons." (Bottom) "Lightning pattern," 17 inches. Belgian Congo; Kuba. (Top) "Hornbill pattern," 12 inches. Gabon; Fang.
7. Axes: (Top) Incised blade, stained handle; 26 inches. Senegal. (Below, lying flat) Handle perforated, decorated with brass rings; 20 inches. Gabon; Fang.
8. Blacksmith's tools: Four-chambered wooden bellows; 37 inches (front to back). Small anvil, 9 inches high. Congo Republic. Two various hammers: smaller (right, front), 13 inches. Liberia. Larger (left, rear), 26 inches. Iron forceps, 6 inches. Tongs, 12 inches. Copper ingot and bar. Northern Rhodesia. Carved wooden two-chambered bellows; 23 inches. Guinea Republic.
9. Small "double gongs," iron; 5 inches. Senegal.
10. "Bill-hook" knife; 16 inches. Liberia; Gola.
11. Iron pipe, wooden stem; decorated with beads and shells on leather cords; 12 inches. Uncertain origin.
12. Copper pectoral on chain; 3½ x 4½ inches. Liberia; Gola. Hammered copper armlet; 6 inches high. Liberia; Kpwesi. Hammered and decorated brass spoon; 9 inches. Nigeria; Nupe.
13. Various forms of ceremonial tokens ("ritual money"): Spade form (iron); 16 x 7 inches. Tanged adz form (iron); 12 inches. Hair-pin form (brass); 8 inches. Belgian Congo; respectively, Mgbaka, Ngoli, Ntumba. Pair, tapering "abstract" form (iron), "Kisi money;" 25 inches long. Hinterland Liberia and vicinity.
14. Cast brass stirrup; 9 inches high. Morocco leather halter and reins, with decorated iron bit. Sudanese Republic.

THE AFRICAN COLLECTIONS of the Commercial Museum

Against the background elaborated in the preceding pages, it is possible to consider now in detail—with a sense of perspective from the outset—the African ethnographic collections of the Commercial Museum. In doing so, alternative procedures are possible: on the whole, however, it seems most reasonable to submit to established political and geographical facts to move from country to country (or convenient groupings of countries), from West to East, North to South, roughly within the regional plan outlined above (Table, pp. 8-9).

NORTH AFRICA

Region I.

The North African region defined above (p. 8) embraces the coastal districts and the immediate hinterland (to the northern limits of the Sahara—which will be considered in the next section below) of Morocco (including Tangier and Spanish Morocco), Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt (especially the valley of the Nile up to Aswan, or possibly even farther South).

Often in the past this region has served as a corridor, in particular between Africa and Europe, and between Africa and Asia: accordingly, a region of very ancient traditions and history, it is also one of great cultural and ethnic complexity. Great heights of civilization were reached in the area repeatedly, and at various points—Egypt at the very dawn of history, Carthage (Tunisia) in early Roman times, Morocco, with the spread of Islam. A decline was in effect initiated by the sealing of the gateway to Europe in Spain after the expulsion of the Moors (following a struggle of some six hundred years) immediately prior to the discovery of America: caught thus as it were in a dead-end, the peoples of the region stagnated, virtually until this century—except for early attempts by the Moors to expand southward, which proved politically and economically unsuccessful, ultimately, though the Moors left savage marks on the western Sudan (cp. p. 28, below).[1]

The North African collection of the Commercial Museum—acquired chiefly from the Berlin and Vienna Ethnological Museums in the last century—is quite small, but varied and, in view of its size, reasonably representative of the products of the varied crafts of the region. Most of the specimens are from Tunisia, somewhat fewer from Algeria, Egypt (disregarding materials from Ancient Egypt) and Morocco, with only a

[1] The term Moor has been applied primarily to the Muslim, Arabic-speaking Berbers (and Arabs) of Morocco, virtually since Islam reached this corner of Africa more than a thousand years ago: it is derived from the name of the local peoples in ancient times, however; whence the Roman name Mauritania, applied to the whole northwest of Africa (today, the name Mauritania is reserved for a Sarahan province of French West Africa, predominantly populated by Moors descending from immigrants of the twelfth century).

couple of inconsequential items from Libya. Clothing, textiles, foot-gear and other kinds of leather-work, a certain variety of pottery (including some distinctive Moroccan and Tunisian ware, and a few fine old pieces of classic Kabyle Berber pottery from Algeria—the last, constituting one of the Museum's real treasures), as well as metal-work of many sorts: in all categories, and from all areas, these are the work of sedentary, town-dwelling craftsmen, highly organized specialists with ancient traditions.

THE SAHARA, SENEGAL, FRENCH AND PORTUGUESE GUINEA, SIERRA LEONE, LIBERIA, THE IVORY COAST, AND FRENCH SUDAN

Regions: The Sahara (II), the western Sudan (III), and the Guinea Coast (IV).

With respect to Senegal, French Guinea and French Sudan, there are probably no collections comparable in size and variety of substance to those of the Commercial Museum, outside of the Musée de l'Homme and the Musée de la France d'Outre-Mer in Paris, and some of the new African museums, at Dakar and elsewhere. Accordingly, detailed consideration of these collections is a pleasurable duty.

Though the total way of life of the Sahara is quite distinctive, its peoples and their industries and products—lightly represented in the Commercial Museum's collections—are intermediate between those of North Africa (Region I) and those of the western Sudan (III), as represented by French Sudan, for example. The other territories named in the title of this section, from Senegal to the Ivory Coast, are, however, in their whole culture essentially transitional, ranging from typically West Sudanese in the hinterland of Senegal to typically Guinea Coast (IV) in the lagoon-country of the Ivory Coast. The intervening stretch of country, from the Senegalese littoral to the very heart of Liberia, represents a graded series of cultures mediating the two extremes; so that as the boundary between the western Sudan and the Guinea Coast regions approaches the Atlantic Coast it may be said to waver, undecided as to the precise regional affiliations of many groups (such as the Serer and Dyola of Senegal, the Bidyogo of Portuguese Guinea, the Baga of French Guinea, the Bulom, Mende and Vai, in Sierra Leone and Liberia: cp. linguistic data, below).

It is perhaps best to begin in this general area—which is, including the Sahara, largely under the rule of France—with a consideration of Senegal, for what might be termed "historical-terminological" reasons. France's first foothold in Africa was in Senegal. Through the nineteenth century, into the very last decade, as France expanded in Africa, inland from Senegal, and southeast along the Guinea Coast, the term "Senegal and dependencies" was generally applied to the whole of France's African holdings (with the exception of a strip of the Somali Coast, on the East Horn of Africa: Region VII). And largely for these reasons, the Commercial Museum's original "Senegal" collection presented a very considerable problem when the ethnographic inventorying and preliminary cataloguing—which preceded work on this handbook—was undertaken, for

labels reading "Senegal and dependencies"—dating back to the Paris Colonial Exposition of 1889—were found attached to articles from territories as remote from Senegal proper as the Middle Congo (Region V)!

Senegal, with the coastal district of the province of Mauritania, forms the western gateway between North Africa and the western Sudan: as such, over many millenia, its role in the formation of Africa, as we know it, ethnically and culturally, has been crucial.[1] So far as is now known, however, Senegal has not itself been the scene of any really major development. On the other hand, its peoples are all closely related to those of both French Sudan and French Guinea, and have participated in developments of note in both territories, keeping well abreast.

In general, it is now thought that the territory now designated French Sudan—the heartland of West Africa—may prove to have been one of the earlier centers of civilization, roughly comparable thus with Egypt and the Middle East, with India and China. What is quite certain, however, is that a whole series of great kingdoms and empires arose from centers in this area (and farther East in the Sudan) from approximately Roman times well beyond the European Middle Ages. The causes of the subsequent decline have never been carefully investigated, but prominent among them must be (1) the generally destructive and disruptive campaigns carried to the heart of the western Sudan by well-armed Moorish plunderers from the North, particularly in the sixteenth century; (2) the general isolation of the area from the outside world brought about more or less indirectly by the widening gulf between Europe and the Islamic world, and the growth of interest, among Europeans, in both the New World and the Far East; (3) (as outside interest veered back toward Africa,) the virtual supplanting, both among Europeans and among Muslims, of legitimate trade by the slave-trade, and, even after the European slave-trade was suppressed, the unfavorable terms on which the outside world dealt with Africa; and finally (4) the apparent exhausting of the main sources of gold in Bambuk.

Other possible causes for the decline of civilization in this part of the world, more difficult to establish firmly, may be—singly, or in various possible combinations—(5) changes in the physical environment (lessening of rainfall, and so on); (6) rapid increase in population (at the height of prosperity in the area); and (7) an increase in disease (the introduction of new epidemic diseases, and the spread of indigenous disease).

Though the peoples of the area are divided into countless tribal and subtribal groups speaking as many different languages or sharply differentiated dialects, all these languages can be grouped into two language families (as against three families in an approximately equal area of Northwest and Central Europe, North of the Pyrenees). From Senegal east to the Niger Buckle (in the vicinity of Timbuktu), and from the verge of the Sahara—specifically, a grazing district designated the Sahel, divided

[1] Senegal has afforded entry into the western Sudan by sea as well as by land: it has been suggested that the "silent trade" in gold reported by Herodotus to have been carried on by seafaring Carthaginian traders in this part of Africa (see the Commercial Museum's publication *The Periplus of Hanno*, by W. H. Schoff, (1913), pp. 28-9) is likely to have been with the peoples of Bambuk, French Sudan, some distance up the Senegal River.

between Mauritania and French Sudan—south and west beyond the headwaters of the Niger through the heart of Liberia, two separate branches of the great Niger-Congo family of languages intermingle, namely the West-Atlantic and the Mandingo branches; the Wolof (French spelling, Ouolof), Serer (French, Sérère), Bidyogo, Baga, Bulom, Kisi, and Gola, mainly along the Coast, and the Fulbe (or Fula; French, Peulh) and Tekrur (French, Toucouleur) inland speak languages belonging to the first branch; while the Mandingo (known locally in the various districts of the area as Malinke, Soninke, Sarakole, Susu, Manya, and so on), the Bambara, and the bulk of the peoples of Sierra Leone and northern Liberia (Mende, Gbandi, Loma, Kpelle, Mano, Vai and Gio or Dan), extending some distance inland, speak languages belonging to the second branch. Peoples of the remainder of Liberia and the Ivory Coast to be touched on in this section — including the Basa, Kru, Gweabo or "Half-Grebo," Grebo, and Kyama—all speak languages of the Kwa branch of the same language-family (cp. "Dahomey and Nigeria," below). In the extreme North of this general area—in Mauritania and the Algerian Sahara—Arabic and Tamashek (the language of the Tuareg), both languages of the Afro-Asiatic family, are spoken almost exclusively.

Among members of all the larger and many of the smaller linguistic groupings there is considerable cultural variation otherwise: there are farmers (generally more important southward) and herders (northward) and peoples who effect some kind of combination of the two ways of life; there are townsmen—craftsmen, traders, and specialists of other sorts. In many of the larger societies, such as the Wolof and Fula kingdoms, the population is organized into caste-like groups, being limited in such things as the choice of a mate and of an occupation from birth. The considerable differentiation in ways of life to be encountered, then, both within and between tribal groups, is by no means a result of "primitive tribal exclusiveness," but is a relic of a high degree of civilization in the area from early times, which fostered the development of specialization; and not a dead relic, to be discounted, either, but one kept fully alive by vigorous trading operations. In fact, there is often considerable difficulty in discovering the precise locality of origin of many of the Commercial Museum's specimens, not only because of the fact that such peoples as the Bambara and the Mandingo, the Fulbe and the Tuareg (the work of all of whom is represented) are scattered in sizable communities over the entire area; not only because available sources of information regarding the provenience of many classes of articles represented are unsatisfactory; but very largely because of the paramountcy of considerations of trade throughout the area over a very long period. Thus, articles may be traded (hence, may have been collected) a thousand miles from their point of origin; articles habitually used by members of one tribe may well have been manufactured by others, at some distance; and, finally, competition, even in an area that has stagnated for a considerable period, may be counted on to lead at least on occasion to imitation!

From this whole area three classes of materials predominate: leatherwork, wood-work, and textiles. Iron-work and basketry of several classes (baskets, mats and hats) are well-represented in the Commercial Mu-

seum's collections, however; pottery, somewhat less so; and a number of crafts (calabash-decoration, brass-work and so on), only token-wise.

Leather-work. There is a mass of leather-work—particularly foot-gear, cushions and bags of all sorts and sizes, mainly the work of Moorish and Tuareg craftsmen, or of Wolof, Mandingo and Fulbe craftsmen working to some extent under the influence of Moorish and Tuareg products. Many of these specimens are especially difficult to attribute to specific sources; however, distinctive Wolof and Mandingo sword-scabbards in leather have proved useful in differentiating the work of these peoples from one another and from that of Tuareg and Moorish tribes.

Though in certain cases, it may, thus, be difficult to differentiate between the products of unrelated (though perhaps associated) peoples, it also happens occasionally that migrant groups cling stubbornly to a particular pattern or technique a hundred years and more after they have completely lost touch with their homeland: thus, the swords and scabbards, the handsome leather-covered powder-horns, the leather-bound amulets and all the like produced by the Manya of Liberia are virtually identical with those produced by the Koranko of Sierra Leone and the Malinke of Senegal!

Probably the most spectacular group of old objects in leather is a small but very unusual collection of ceremonial gear, including a vulture headdress (or helmet-mask), all in a style worn, often with either a beaded cloth face-covering or a coarse-hewn wooden mask (cp. "Sierra Leone Bundu mask" described below, p. 33) among a number of tribes (Landuman, Toma, Kisi, Kono and others) in the hinterland of French Guinea. Similar garb seems also to be worn by Bayot warriors in annual inter-village ceremonial "battles" (Senegal-Portuguese Guinea). The precise provenience of these materials, too, must remain obscure until further possible sources of information can be tapped.

Also unique, though relatively minor specimens, are: (1) a furred robe or blanket, of matched and trimmed skins, presumably of the rock hyrax (Procavia sp.), comparable to the skin *kaross* of the Hottentot of Southwest Africa (East Africa: Region VIIII), but, on the evidence of its carefully sewn Morocco-leather border and various other details, doubtless produced in the Northwest of this area (Mauritania); and (2) a curious example of what might be termed "sculptured" leather, in fact a leather-covered "war-club," probably of Mandingo origin, that must have served chiefly as a mark of prestige—like a royal scepter—rather than any purely utilitarian function.[2]

It is extremely interesting to compare specimens from North Africa, from Dahomey and Nigeria, and from the Horn of Africa, with the leather-work of this area (from the Sahara to Liberia, from Senegal to

[2] A natural tree-branch, with knots, has been covered with wet leather, which of course shrinks as it dries, so that the covering fits tightly; the leather has been stained a dark brown and polished in the manner of the Mandingo (cp. powder-horns, etc.). Elsewhere in Africa, such a procedure is extremely rare, though in eastern Nigeria (Guinea Coast region), masks are similarly treated in certain cases.

the Niger Buckle): doing so reveals clearly both the diversity and the essential uniformity of culture in more or less widely separated regions of Africa (cp. pp. 6-8, above).

Wood-work: Household and Industrial goods; sculptured masks and figurines. The next most numerous class of materials in the Commercial Museum's collections from this area —and the most valuable of all—is work in wood. Here, in the main, the products of three distinct peoples are about equally represented: the Soninke, Malinke or Mande (Mandingo of Senegal), the Serer, and the Laobe, who constitute in fact the wood-working caste of the Fulbe of Futa Toro (a district of Senegal, not to be confused with Futa Jalon, the homeland of the Fula peoples, in French Guinea). A number of other peoples are represented by a very few pieces, some of which are of very great value, however.

Mandingo and Serer wood-work is virtually limited, in the Commercial Museum's collections, to food-bowls (in a wide variety of sizes and shapes), household mortars and pestles (used in the daily grinding of flour—from rice, sorghum and millet grains), and the like. Laobe work is rather more varied, and is extremely interesting, including as it does, among other things, a nearly complete set of textile- and clothing-workers' equipment and effects in wood.

A number of important pieces of sculpture in wood from the area, produced by a variety of peoples, are to be specially noted. From the French Sudan, there is a door-lock[3] housed in the sculptured figure of a man, executed in one of the two or three classic Bambara styles. The Bambara are also represented by a tyi-wara, or antelope headdress carved of wood and mounted upon a fiber cap.[4]

The Bidyogo of Portuguese Guinea are represented by a number of specimens, including two figurines possibly carved for the European trade, and thought to have been collected in nearby Senegal, but thoroughly traditional in form and style: these two pieces are likely to be of particular interest to "art-circles," as, of several traditional Bidyogo styles, that of these two figurines is probably the least often seen in museum collections. In spite of differences in physiognomy and headdress (in Bidyogo sculpture, there is the character of portraiture), both figures apparently represent members of the same sex—namely, women. The precise distribution of figures of the sort in Portuguese Guinea is not known, but similar ones at least a century old are still to be seen in shrines on Formosa Island, for example, and the stools on which the figures are seated closely resemble those of Orango Grande Island.

Three outstanding pieces tentatively identified as Bidyogo are two matched covered bowls, decorated with figures of oxen burnt in the light-colored wood (one surmounted by a tiny figure tentatively identified as a

[3] The actual mechanism is now gone, but it was apparently of a type found throughout the western Sudan, the Sahara and North Africa.

[4] Actually a shallow basket, of distinctive Bambara pattern; see also below (under "Weaving basketry"). These baskets are usually quite fragile, and it is rare indeed that one is preserved still attached in this way.

hippopotamus), and a sculptured figure of an ox with rider. No pieces quite like these are known, but they are clearly connected with the veneration of the ox in an area centering around the Bissagos Islands of Portuguese Guinea and extending into Senegal, most notably among the Dyola (see below). In particular, there are carved on the islands of Bubaque, Une, and doubtless others, life-size ox-head masks and canoe figure-heads, duplicating the head of the mounted ox-figurine; also, there are in the same area bowls surmounted by various animal-figures, though these are normally much more elaborate than the Commercial Museum's specimens, and are carved of hardwood.

The Baga and related peoples (such as the Nalu) of the Rivières du Sud district of French Guinea have made the richest, most sensational contribution, no doubt, to the Commercial Museum's collection from this general area, so far as sculpture in wood is concerned, with four figurines, a helmet-mask, and a stool, representing at least two major styles. Two of the figurines, carved in heavy, light-colored wood, slightly darkened with age and handling, are of the well-known beak-nosed, full-breasted type designated "Numba," currently very popular among collectors in Europe and the U. S.: one is a full figure; the other, a bust surmounting a stumpy handle that is concealed under a raphia fringe or skirt.

The large, heavy ceremonial stool represents a style generally quite distinct: the seat is supported by four squatting figures (usually interpreted as male). The two remaining figurines (representing women, again) are identical in form and style, one stained black and the other painted white. In the treatment of the face, particularly in the vertical alignment of the nose (as contrasted with the high-bridged beak of the two figurines described above), these two resemble most closely the male figures of the stool; however, all three types—though the total effect of each is strikingly distinctive—show great similarity in the treatment specifically of the nostrils, mouth, chin and lower jaw. Some authorities consider these last figurines to be the older in style, but so far as can be judged from the Commercial Museum's scanty records there is no great difference in the age of these and the typical Numba figurines.

Attributed to the Nalu is a headdress surmounted by a head that appears half a bird's, half a man's (actually thought to represent an anthropomorphized crocodile); this is an extremely rare and interesting piece; only five others are known, distributed among the great national museums of Western Europe; so that from a strictly monetary viewpoint, it is no doubt the most valuable single specimen in the Commercial Museum's African collections.

A Sande (women's secret society) helmet-mask thought to be of the Vai people of Liberia is an unusual specimen: in style similar to that of the more familiar Bundu masks of the Mende (Sierra Leone), it differs chiefly in conveying the impression of perfunctory execution of details (thus resembling masks of the Gbandi people). A miniature "fanner" or basketry winnowing-tray covered with thin wooden labels or tags bearing very faint and illegible marks that are likely to have been formulae in the Vai

script (see p. 6, above), of altogether obscure function, is said to be a part of the masked dancer's costume, worn at the back.

Another specimen, from either Liberia or the Ivory Coast, is a Poro (men's secret society) mask: it displays a most remarkable combination of features pointing about equally to Gio (hard *g*; French designation, Dan, Guéré) Guro-Baule (in the Ivory Coast), Kran, Basa, and De—the last being apparently the most probable source.

A remarkable specimen, abstractly theriomorphic, painted pink, and dotted all over with hieroglyphic-like figures in white, is a coarse-featured, raphia-fringed "Bundu mask from Sierra Leone," according to the Museum's records; Bundu is the local counterpart of the Liberian Sande (see above); but the typical (Mende) Bundu mask of Sierra Leone closely resembles the Museum's Vai mask and is, thus, quite unlike this specimen! In fact, it is much more likely to be a Poro mask: throughout this sector, Poro masks follow generally two distinct patterns, one human, like that described above, and one animal, more comparable to this one. In the Sierra Leone-Liberia-French Guinea sector, there is a brisk inter-tribal trade in masks, and both innovation and imitation are common, so that the identification of isolated specimens such as this and the preceding may be very difficult. A raphia cloak accompanies this mask; in general, leather caps (see p. 30, above) and shawls of locally woven cloth are commonly part of the dancer's disguise, with a mask of this type.

From the Kyama (or Ebrié), in the hinterland of the eastern lagoon district of the Ivory Coast, comes a female figurine in a rare style, reminiscent, however, of such well-known styles in this area as the Baga, the Bambara, and others. Typically, Kyama figurines are carved with arms raised and hands clasped to the head; the Commercial Museum specimen is one of two known to exist the arms of which have been carved separately[8] and fastened to the body with wooden pins in such a way that they swing freely.

While dealing with figurines and masks it is convenient to mention several specimens of related kinds, executed in materials other than wood. The first of these is a Dyola basketry helmet-mask, surmounted by a pair of cow-horns, and originally smeared with pitch and covered with broad rows of red-and-black peas *(Abrus precatorius)* alternating with serrated strips of palm-leaf—the decorations having largely scaled off long since. Basketry masks are quite widely distributed in Africa, but by no means common. The use of actual horns in this way is possibly more uncommon still.

From the De people of Liberia, there is a "devil's robe," a concealing suit—with head-piece—entirely of cloth, with a dark, shaggy "coat" or "fur" of bast—some indigenous fiber, possibly Sansevieria sp.—all over, hanks of the substance being sewn to the suit closely spaced: the general effect is somewhat that of a faceless chimpanzee! It is presumed that this is one of the properties of the local Poro society.

[8] In general, Africans carve even very complex pieces — including furniture such as chairs and stools — from a single piece of wood; wood-joining of any sort is thus rare indeed, particularly in old, traditional specimens of this sort.

Also from Liberia is a small, rough steatite ("soapstone") figurine. Similar figures—but executed in quite a different style, and often polished to some degree—from Mendeland, in Sierra Leone, are very well known. The Commercial Museum's specimen, however, is comparable rather to figures from Kisi country, in French Guinea, and most probably comes from Belleland (northeastern Liberia).

It is thought that the stone figures from the Sierra Leone-French Guinea-Liberia sector are of ancient origin, no longer produced there: they are said to be turned up most commonly in the course of farming operations, and are venerated as relics of an unknown, by-gone population and era. At any rate, the several distinctive but related styles of stone-sculpture bear no resemblance to generally current local styles of wood-carving; in form they are possibly most similar to certain pre-historic clay figurines found much farther east (in Northern Nigeria) and provisionally dated at more than 2,000 years back.

Lesser wood-work from this general area includes an interesting series of canoe models and miniature canoes (very small canoes may serve purely utilitarian ends) of the Kwia tribe, Liberia; and one Senegalese (Wolof), one Sierra Leonese, and four handsome Liberian (one Kwia, one possibly Vai, and two — very elaborate — Kpelle or Kpwesi "wari" gameboards. One of the latter (Vai?) is distinguished by a rare and charming example of African graphic art, an incised vignette—disposed among panels of geometrical figures—representing a chief (with chiefly tobacco pipe) contemplating a square-rigged sailing ship! In addition, there is a varied group of Senegalese snuff- and tobacco-boxes in wood, bamboo and horn, and a series of gourd ladles, bowls and bottles decorated in a number of distinctive but unfortunately wholly undocumented styles (possibly largely from the Coastal districts of Senegal). Miscellaneous objects in wood include such things as toys, spoons, shuttles, door-locks, and so on, in great number and variety: probably the most interesting of these specimens is a toy, a Liberian "top" constructed of a twig and the rind of a small tree-gourd *(Sterculia* sp. ?) that appears — from the description given by the collector, G. P. Goll—to represent the prototype of the gyroscope (see pp. 4 and 7, above).

Textiles; basketry. In general, African textiles are little-known in the U. S. particularly the varied "homespun" cotton cloths of the western Sudan (in contrast to the raphia cloths of, for example, the Congo: see below): as interest in African cultures rises, and the high quality of African weaving comes to be appreciated, the African textiles —representing a range quite unmatched in this country—in the Commercial Museum's collections are likely to attract considerable attention.

Owing to the fact that African cloths are so little known, and also to considerations of trade in the area (often referred to previously), it is usually not possible to go very far beyond the original labels in tracing the origins of these cloths: primarily from Senegal, French Sudan and Liberia, with a few specimens from French Guinea.

The variety of patterns in weaving and dyeing is remarkable. Cloths

woven both on the men's narrow horizontal loom—which predominates in this area—and pieced together to form "blankets" and "piece-goods" from which garments may be tailored, and on the women's broad vertical loom are to be seen; coarse-woven gauze-like shawls, and fine head-cloths and "girdles" or sashes; and cloths as substantial and as durable as heavy canvas, but soft enough to be worn comfortably next to the skin. Woven designs include stripes (in the famous "Sherbro cloths"—woven throughout this area, but deriving their name from Sherbro Island, Sierra Leone), bands and checks, normally in indigo and white, but occasionally—particularly in specimens from French Sudan, which bear a distinct resemblance to the royal fabrics of Ashanti (Ghana, in the Guinea Coast region)—in other colors (browns, greens, magenta).

The Commercial Museum's selection of resist-dyed and tie-dyed cloths is of particular interest (see p. 12, above). In this general area, the Mandingo are the principal practitioners of this art; some five different types, from a technical point of view, can be differentiated, at least four of which —possibly all—are represented in the Museum's collections. These are: (1) pleating or folding the cloth uniformly (in quarter-inch folds) lengthwise, and binding with thread at intervals, before dyeing, to produce patterns of interrupted lines or fine stripes and dots (specimens that are still folded, and others unbound, demonstrate the process); (2) sewing or tying more or less complex and varied patterns (again, the Museum has specimens still sewn, after dyeing, and others ripped out to show the resist-pattern); (3) and (4) two kinds of resist-dyeing that, so far as the finished product is concerned, are virtually indistinguishable, one using rice starch (the Soninke method), and another using wax (Soninke and Bambara), to form patterns either free-hand or employing stencils; and finally (5) a technique that strictly speaking does not employ resist, and might better be termed "reinforced dyeing," or simply "re-dyeing": a simple pattern of stripes or checks in white and indigo is woven into the cloth, which is then dyed all over indigo, so that the original woven pattern can be seen in only a certain light, at only certain angles—such patterns being sometimes referred to as "shadow-plaids," "shadow-stripes."[6] Though most of the Commercial Museum's resist-dyed cloths are from Senegal and French Guinea, a few specimens are thought to have come from Liberia (Manya tribe of Mandingo).

A camel-hair tent-cloth, presumed to have emanated from the Sahara region, and patterned in a style reminiscent of the Tuareg of Timbuktu (French Sudan), is an unusual specimen of considerable interest.

Bark-cloth persists in some of the more heavily forested areas. A single specimen of an aberrant type, made of natural palm-sheathing, is from Portuguese Guinea, tentatively attributed to the Bidyogo. Raphia-cloth is extremely common, chiefly near the coast; raphia is mostly utilized in weaving bags, pouches, caps and hats of many sorts, of which there are numerous specimens from French Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia, and

[6] This technique is listed under "resist-dyeing" for the reason that it is most common in — if not limited to — areas where resist-dyeing occurs. Nowhere, it should be stressed, are the products of these several techniques more striking than in this area.

a very notable series of hats in particular from the Senegal-French Sudan sector; it is used rather less in basketry, in which other materials are perhaps more commonly employed—as in the case of the numerous and varied baskets of characteristic weave from the Bambara, already mentioned (p. 31).

Much the same things can be said of tailored clothing from this whole area as have been said of cloth: in the absence of adequate studies of the subject in the area, it is rarely possible to attribute any specific item to a particular people and locality. There is a considerable series of the long, flowing gowns—dyed light blue, typically, and embroidered—affected by Mandingo, Wolof and Fulbe men of age and substance; the finest of all these are three specimens—two, heavily embroidered, and one inscribed (in ink)—from Liberia. In addition to these, there is a series of tasseled loin-cloths from French Sudan (Bambara?), and a great variety of fabric caps from virtually every section of the entire area, "grass" (raphia) skirts and "rain-capes," and the like.

On the whole, clothing from this area—including such things as wooden "clogs" or sandals, and leather-goods of various sorts—is extremely well-represented, though specimens from some tribal or ethnic groups are very much more numerous and varied (for example, the Mandingo) than those from perhaps the majority.

It is of interest here to mention again that the Commercial Museum possesses a wide variety of the implements of the clothing-workers' and weavers' tradesc, including a complete horizontal loom (see p. 31, above).

Metal-work. There are, both in the Senegal and in the Liberian collections, numerous home- and farm-implements and weapons, as well as a few scattered specimens from French Sudan, French Guinea and Sierra Leone, along with miscellaneous articles chiefly in the category of personal ornaments in iron, brass, copper, silver and white metal (see also "Musical instruments," below): Wolof and Serer hoes, Mandingo work-axes, and the decorative axes carried by the Wolof "griot," or bard, holy man and diviner; sets of blacksmiths' tools; a set of dies such as are used by both leather-workers and brass-smiths in impressing designs on their products; a set of wood-workers' adzes and knives from Liberia (Gola and Kpelle peoples); a collection of Kisi "money" from Northeast Liberia—abstractly patterned blade-like objects of iron, chiefly utilized in ceremonial exchanges and transactions. All these categories of products of the blacksmith's art are of prime importance, for the reason that they make possible the step-by-step demonstration of a number of basic technical processes, through to and including the end-product, which, of course, greatly enhances the total value of the Commercial Museum's collections as a complex educational instrument, so to speak.

Musical instruments. Musical instruments frequently combine wood-working, calabash carving, modified basketry, leather-work, and black-smithing. From this general area, particularly from the Senegal-French Sudan sector, there is a wide range of instruments, which can be classified primarily as drums, xylophones, rattles,

stringed instruments (the last very often incorporating rattles!), and wind-instruments. The range of drums is particularly complete, every major type combining wood and skin, apart from the rare "friction drum," found in the whole of Africa being represented among the specimens from this area. No doubt the most spectacular, the most sensational item in the Commercial Museum's entire collection of instruments from this area is a war-drum from the Ivory Coast decorated with the skulls of slain enemies—a kind of mobile (and musical) war-museum!

Pottery. The Commercial Museum's varied collection of unpolished red earthenware, largely of Serer manufacture, is of particular interest and value: these materials are by no means fully representative of the art of the potter in the whole area, but they serve very well to suggest something of both the possibilities and the limitations of pottery produced entirely by hand, without recourse to the potter's wheel (cp. p. 11, above), and something as well of the range of forms that may be produced within the confines—so to speak—of a single culture, in Africa.

It is of great interest to compare these specimens both with the small selection of gourd containers, on the one hand, and with the wooden containers produced in the same general area. It is also instructive to compare them with pottery from other parts of the continent: North Africa, the East Horn, Dahomey, and the Congo—pottery from all of which is to be found in the Commercial Museum's collections.

DAHOMEY AND NIGERIA

Regions: Western Sudan (III), Guinea Coast (IV), and eastern Sudan (VI).

Much of the coastline of the Gulf of Guinea, and the hinterland in increasing depth toward the East, in West Africa, is inhabited by peoples speaking closely related languages of a particular branch of the great Niger-Congo family of languages—a branch that has come to be known generally as the Kwa languages (so-called because a word *kwa,* meaning "people," recurs in many of them). Many of these peoples have received public acclaim in the Western World during the past fifty years for their art-work, for example the Guro and Baule (pronounced *ba'oolay)* of the Ivory Coast, the Ashanti of Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast), the Ewe (pronounced *eh'weh)* of Togoland, the Fon (pronounced *fohn-ihn* as in "uhn-huhn") of Dahomey, the Yoruba (called Nago [*nah'go*] by the French), Egba, Nupe (pronounced *noo'pay),* Bini *(bee'nee),* Ibo *(ee'boh)* and others in Nigeria.

There are considerable differences in the cultures of all these peoples: in their national dress, in the very cloths they weave, in the houses they build, in their pottery, basketry and—above all, that with which Westerners are most familiar—wood-carving. There are also differences in less tangible aspects of their cultures: in their social, political and economic organization, in their religion. Apart from the similarity in their languages (which are as closely related as Spanish is to Italian or French, as Polish to Czech, or as German to English), two important features unite a large

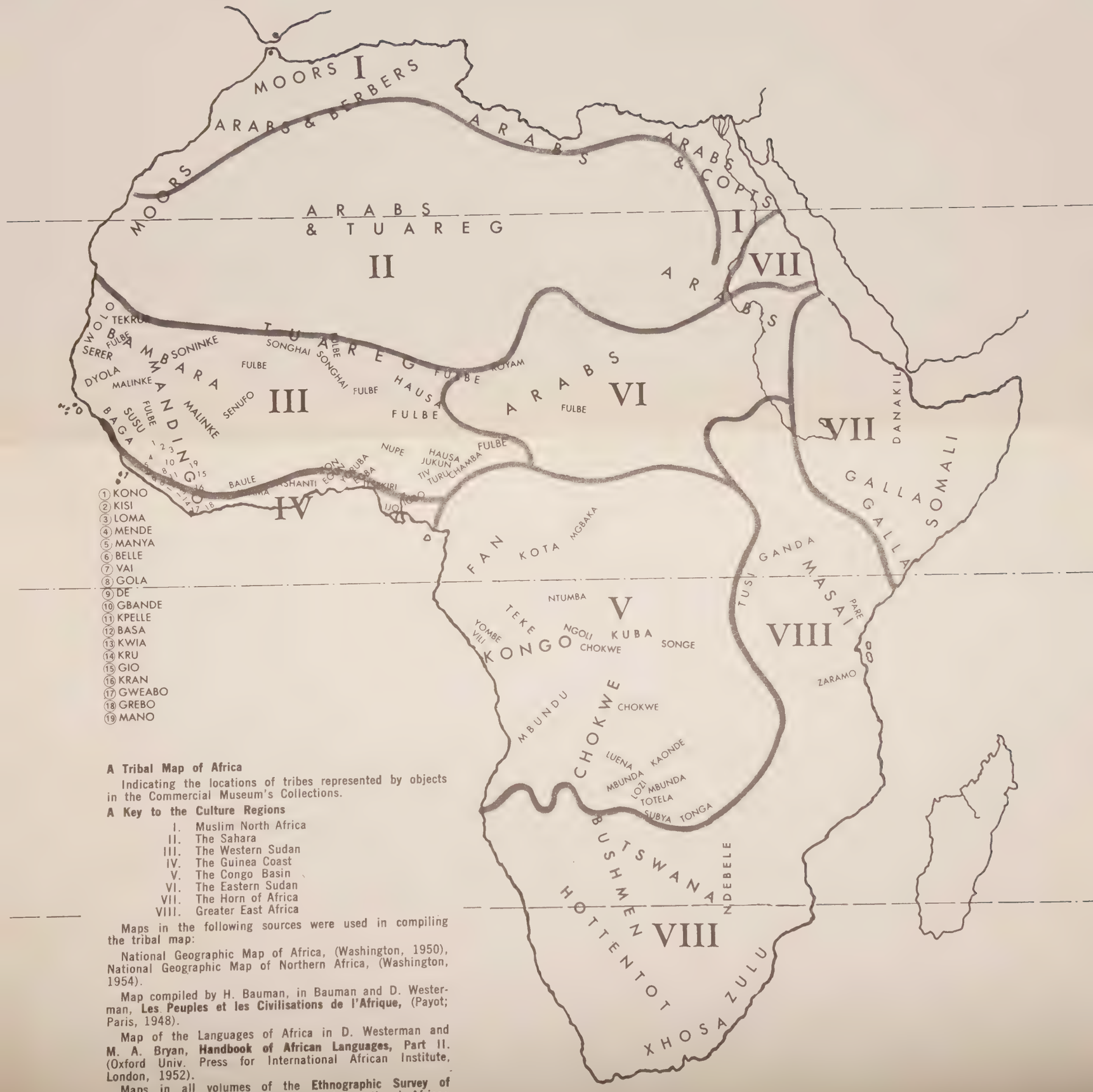
part of these varied peoples, however; two very general features relating about equally to their political and economic organization (however much these peoples diverge with respect to the *details* of their political and economic life): most of them maintain large cities[1]; most of them in addition are organized in sizeable, economically and politically complex states headed by hereditary royalty.

Relations among these states before the Middle Ages—or roughly 1200 A.D.—cannot safely be guessed in the absence of any written records (though archeological records confirm the existence of a high civilization in the area more than a thousand years earlier). The accounts of Muslim travelers at about this time, and somewhat later, after the invasion of the western Sudan by Moroccan warriors (see p. 26 and p. 28, above), and the reports of Europeans from the fifteenth century onward testify to skirmishes, conflicts and conquests among and between the peoples of Guinea as numerous and widespread as the wars great and small that punctuated the history of the Western World at the same time: however, as a matter of fact, it seems not unlikely that internal conflict in West Africa may have increased to some degree as a result of hostile pressure from the Moors on the north and of unsettling contacts with European traders along the Coast. Whatever the case may be, in this respect, Europeans arrived in time to witness, if they did not unwittingly help to set off, a whole cycle of wars in the area, with empires rising, falling and rising again, over the centuries.

One of the last of the great empires to reach its high point (and then to begin its decline) was Dahomey. The empire of Dahomey seems to have begun, in fact, with the foundation of the Fon kingdom of Abomey, in the seventeenth century; Abomey, an inland state, in the eighteenth century, then, conquered, among others, the closely related people of Whydah, on the Coast—in order to benefit more directly from the European trade (in the view of Europeans of the time)—and subsequently absorbed the Yoruba (Nago) and Egba kingdoms of Ketu, Allada and Porto Novo. Thereafter, a decline in the European trade, immediately incident to the abolition of slavery in the New World, weakened the power of Abomey within the empire, though as late as 1892 the French in their armed conquest of Dahomey met the most determined and vigorous kind of resistance at Abomey town.

Wood-carving. In Dahomey, the French had ten years earlier, in 1882, established a protectorate over Porto Novo, originally a Yoruba-Egba settlement, with whose kings (though themselves of Fon extraction) and people the French appear to have maintained generally fairly cordial relations over the years. At any rate, it can be said that probably the finest collection of specimens that reached the Paris Exposition of 1900 from any part of the French empire in Africa was assembled by King Tofa of Porto Novo, who, on the evidence of those pieces later acquired by the Commercial Museum, seems to have been a royal personage of considerable taste: in addition to the varied works of Fon and

[1] The largest Negro city in Africa, Ibadan (Nigeria), with a population close to 500,000, is a Yoruba foundation.



1. KONO
2. KISI
3. LOMA
4. MENDE
5. MANYA
6. BELLE
7. VAI
8. GOLA
9. DE
10. GBANDE
11. KPELLE
12. BASA
13. KWIA
14. KRU
15. GIO
16. KRAN
17. GWEABO
18. GREBO
19. MANO

A Tribal Map of Africa

Indicating the locations of tribes represented by objects in the Commercial Museum's Collections.

A Key to the Culture Regions

I. Muslim North Africa
II. The Sahara
III. The Western Sudan
IV. The Guinea Coast
V. The Congo Basin
VI. The Eastern Sudan
VII. The Horn of Africa
VIII. Greater East Africa

Maps in the following sources were used in compiling the tribal map:

National Geographic Map of Africa, (Washington, 1950), National Geographic Map of Northern Africa, (Washington, 1954).

Map compiled by H. Bauman, in Bauman and D. Westerman, **Les Peuples et les Civilisations de l'Afrique,** (Payot; Paris, 1948).

Map of the Languages of Africa in D. Westerman and M. A. Bryan, **Handbook of African Languages,** Part II. (Oxford Univ. Press for International African Institute, London, 1952).

Maps in all volumes of the **Ethnographic Survey of Africa South of the Sahara** series, (International African Institute: London, various dates.).

Political Map of Africa

Political developments since the text of this handbook was prepared have resulted in numerous changes in the names of countries and territories referred to. Guinea (on map) is referred to (in the text) as French Guinea; the Sudanese Republic (not to be confused with the Sudan Republic in eastern Africa) is the former French Sudan; the Volta Republic is the former Upper Volta territory of French West Africa; The Central African Republic is the former Ubangi-Shari territory of French Equatorial Africa; the Congo Republic is the former French Middle Congo. Other recent changes are likely to give rise to no confusion: for example Mauritania is now the Islamic Republic of Mauritania; Senegal is the republic of Senegal, and so on.

The following sources were used in compiling the political map:

The New York Times, March 8, 1959, Sec. 4, p. 6, (and various other dates).

Life Magazine, Jan. 26, 1959.

Yoruba artists—specifically, sculptors in wood—at home, he collected and sent to France stools of the sacred royal pattern from Ashanti, in the Gold Coast (now Ghana), and, among other notable specimens, one from the Congo-Angola border region that many African experts regard as the finest of its kind in existence, a statuette representing a warrior of the Chokwe people (see "The greater Congo region," following).

The Fon and Yoruba materials are of considerable interest for the number of specimens and the variation in detail that they provide: they constitute, as it were in a single capsule, a vivid documentation of the influence of the art-style of one African people on that of another—and as such they are perhaps unique in museum- and art-annals.

On the whole, Fon work in wood is scantily represented in museum collections: if it is possible to judge from the single well-known large assemblage of Fon art, that of M. J. Herskovits, at Northwestern University, "pure" Fon sculpture in wood may well have been considered crude by comparison with the work of Yoruba in the same area, crude by comparison with Fon figurines cast in brass, hence inferior and entirely negligible, so far as European travelers and collectors were concerned. Certainly, at the time that Herskovits made a study of the Fon, Fon sculpture—in the conventional sense—seems to have been limited to somewhat perfunctorily executed figurines representing ancestors, male and female: typically, perhaps invariably, these were not the work of professional sculptors; every man carved for himself what he needed for his own shrines. Clearly representing this genre in the Commercial Museum's "King Tofa collection" is a single figurine of a woman; however, the piece is characterized by a degree of virtuosity, a sureness of touch, and a meticulous treatment of detail, that sets it quite apart from any of the pieces in the Herskovits collection that have been reproduced in print to date—a feature (this virtuosity) that puts this specimen in a class with Yoruba sculpture in wood, which is normally distinguished by a high degree of virtuosity (being above all the work of specialists—of professional artists).

Not that this virtuosity is anything like the direct result of Yoruba influence—the result of influence of Yoruba standards or Yoruba craft-organization on the Fon. For there are a few very old pieces of Fon sculpture in wood—unique specimens in the annals of African art, combining human and animal characteristics—that demonstrate highly developed technical skill quite independent of the Yoruba tradition.

On the other hand, another work in the collection demonstrates a curious marriage of Fon style with Yoruba tradition: this work might be thought, at a glance, to represent the typical polychromed Yoruba ceremonial stool, the figures supporting the seat plainly identifiable by their regalia as the thunder-spirit Shango and attendants, out of Yoruba mythology; but on closer inspection the stool is seen to be quite distinctive in that the human figures are carved in accord with Fon convention, and, unlike Yoruba stools, each figure is carved separately, the lot of them having been joined together by means of nails, pegs and glue! A second polychromed stool, quite probably by a different sculptor, demonstrates a

slightly different combination of Fon and Yoruba features—Fon figurines, to be sure, but all carved Yoruba-fashion from a single, massive log of wood—and would appear to constitute good evidence of the existence—however limited in time and space—of a Fon-Yoruba "school" of carving hitherto unrecognized in art-annals.

The remaining stools of the series in the "King Tofa collection" are—apart from Ashanti specimens, referred to again below—either clearly Fon in conception and execution, or predominantly Yoruba: the typical Fon stool, quite distinct from the Yoruba (which may be termed double-ended, or drum-like, being essentially cylindrical, with base and seat, separated by supporting figures, of equal size), has a rounded seat, decorated with incised geometrical patterns, and supported by three spreading legs; the stools of Yoruba workmanship, though uniform in plan, are much more varied in detail (which is, of course, very intricate), one of them incorporating—interestingly enough—the sacred serpent motif characteristic of Whydah, the capital of the Egun people—regarded as more or less closely related to the Fon.

African stools, are, of course, famous (cp. p. 11, above). They are often intricately carved, almost invariably in monoxyl form (from a single piece of wood), and are widely the most important article of household furniture; further, they are frequently elevated to a ceremonial plane, as it were, particularly—though not exclusively—among the Kwa-speaking peoples, but above all among the peoples of the region now officially designated Ghana (the "Gold Coast" of history). Here, in Ashanti, a particularly elaborate and beautiful stool-form has been achieved: it may be termed easily the most important work executed in wood by Ashanti artists (the most impressive "representative" plastic forms produced by the Ashanti are modeled in clay, or modeled first in wax and then cast in brass); such stools become heirlooms commonly, and the hereditary stool of a king, often plated with gold or otherwise distinguished, is regarded as the sacred repository of "the soul of the nation," in effect—no throne, for not even the king himself (nor anyone else, of course) may actually sit on it!

The two Ashanti stools in this collection are of this general type, apparently without having achieved the status of "heirloom" or "national treasure," however: one (having—between rectangular seat and base—a cylindrical central column, with pierced checkerboard pattern) is designated *mma*, the type that a man of substance gives his wife at marriage; the other is of an obscure and unusual type, possibly the stool of a court-functionary. It is idle to speculate how these stools may have come into the possession of King Tofa, but Porto Novo was in Tofa's time an important trade-center, lying on or near numerous important land- and sea-routes.

Among the typical Egungun and Gelede secret society, helmet-masks is one specimen that, though comparable in some respects with masks in what is termed loosely the Northern Yoruba style, may represent a Fon-Yoruba composition: it is at any rate a specimen diverging widely from the other masks in the collection. A remarkable feature of the mask,

duplicated in no other Yoruba mask known, is a tube that surmounts the head, accentuating the mask's marked—and very unusual—verticality. (Cp. p. 53, below.)

The remainder of the Gelede society masks in the Museum's collection are carved of wood in the distinctive, horizontally elongated (prognathous) "Southern Yoruba" style: these masks are normally associated with dramatic performances of a topical nature, and, though they conform to a pattern, something like portraiture is intended and indeed handsomely achieved, chiefly through variation in details; women are the chief subjects of these masks.

Yoruba-style polychromed carvings clearly adapted to Fon uses are a number of small articles—snakes, lizard and crocodile, birds, human faces, that are nailed to the palace gates (the faces inexplicably but apparently invariably upside down!) and left in place there in celebration of special annual events: the subject-matter and style of old carvings from Abomey used in this way are quite different—mostly comparable in effect to the elaborately carved drum (possibly Fon proper) and the lively "story-board" (Egun?) in the collection (the latter being one of the Commercial Museum's genuine treasures).

Connected with the Ifa "divination cult," presumed itself to be of Yoruba origin, are three palm-nut containers, one of them decorated entirely with geometrical figures, and uncovered, in the Fon style (but differentiated from Fa cups of very recent times by its unusual height), and the other two, carved in the elaborate Yoruba style (comparable to that of Yoruba stools), with hinged covers—one of these specimens in effect incorporating the divining tray (usually a separate article) in the cup's bowl. The Fon cup is faintly tinted with pink and yellow; by contrast, the Yoruba cups are heavily enameled—one in yellow, orange and white, the other in blue, red-ochre, black and white.

Other materials. Other crafts are, unfortunately, very scantily represented in the Commercial Museum's collection from Dahomey. Of great interest, however, are a ceremonial brass ax of classic Fon design and workmanship, a number of carved gourd trays or shallow bowls in several sizes (motifs include lizards, birds), and a number of finely polished red earthenware jars. There is also some applique leather-work: applique work of various sorts in both leather and cloth is fairly widespread in the central Sudan; though Dahomeyan applique cloths are distinctive (constituting a genre of graphic art rare in Africa as a whole), applique leather-work from Dahomey conforms quite closely to patterns common in Hausaland, and may have come from the latter place, or may have been manufactured locally by Hausa craftsmen residing there in colonies along the great overland trade-route from Hausaland to the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana).

Unlike Dahomey, Nigeria never in historical times constituted a single close-knit political unit—state or empire—until Great Britain annexed the lands that now form the Nigerian Federation, for the most part between 1890 and 1900. Within its vast area, on the other hand, a great number of kingdoms have persisted over many centuries, and empires

aplenty have grown, flourished, then crumbled. Of these, among the best known in the Western World from the Middle Ages onward are the Yoruba empire of Old Oyo, the related, rival empire of Great Benin (that for a time, at about the end of the fifteenth century, exchanged ambassadors with Portugal), the ancient Aro Chuku empire of southeastern Nigeria, and, in the far North, the Jukun empire of Kororofa, the Muslim Sheikhdom of Bornu, on the shores of Lake Chad, and the far-reaching Sultanate of Sokoto (also a Muslim foundation), to mention only the largest and longest-lived.

Thus, far from ever having had, in historic times, anything like a unified, centralized administrative organization, Nigeria has presented to the outside world consistently for some five hundred years the look of patch-work—the most bewildering complexity. Within its present boundaries are to be found representatives of four of the half-dozen great language families of Africa (the Niger-Congo, the Saharan, the Songhai, and the Afro-Asiatic families); within the northern two-thirds of the country alone (an area approximating the State of Texas in size), the number of distinct languages may range above two hundred! This great diversity of peoples is explained in large part, of course, by the fact that Nigeria lies at the junction of two great rivers, the Niger and the Benue (pronounced *ben'ooway),* and, in the region of Lake Chad, in the Northeast of the country, at the very cross-roads of the African continent: for many thousands of years Nigeria—very much like the Middle East (Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia)—has channeled the movements of whole peoples, from north to south, east to west, and back again (see map).

Understandably, then, the outsider is confused by appearances: appearances, however, may be misleading, in Nigeria as elsewhere. In spite of the lack of a traditional centralized administrative organization, the peoples of Nigeria actually enjoy a high degree of unity, informal though it may be, induced by a common system of land and river trade-routes, by interlocking traditions and ties of kinship, and by the very human need for peoples, however divergent their origins and ways of life, to make common cause with one another, when need be, in the defense of universal human values—however elusive these may seem on occasion. Old and perisisting contacts among the peoples have accustomed them to new ways and to change; in many respects, the very differences among Nigerians have tended to draw and hold them together. In fact the atmosphere of the place is remarkably similar to that of the United States, the "melting-pot" of the Western World, in spite of many obvious cultural differences between the two countries—it is not to be wondered at that, emerging as an independent country within the British Commonwealth, Nigeria has chosen a federal form of government, modeled on that of the United States!

Wood-work. Apart from the Yoruba work already described, which is as typical of southwestern Nigeria (where some of it may in fact have originated) as of Dahomey, the only materials from the south of the country in the Commercial Museum's collection are a remarkable

series of perforated and sculptured ceremonial paddles such as are made by both the Ijo and the Itsekiri (often termed "Jekri") peoples of the Niger delta: the degree of variation to be encountered within a single genre of work is nowhere better illustrated than in these specimens. Perforated work in wood, incidentally, is relatively rare in Africa, being positively characteristic of only Ashanti (cp. stools described above) and a very limited number of other areas.

The bulk of the Commercial Museum's Nigerian collection comes from northern Nigeria. In the north, as might be expected from all that has been said above, there is great variety in the arts and crafts; further, there is considerable divergence between the arts and crafts of the bulk of the northern peoples and those of the various peoples in the south. In general, there is an inevitable decline in the amount and the proportion of wood-work as one leaves the jungle of the Niger delta and the riverside tracts of forest and proceeds through the savannah-parklands to the thorn-scrub and sand-wastes of the desert's margin, five hundred miles inland; in the far north — dominated by Muslim peoples — masks and statues of wood virtually disappear, though stools in many varied, ingenious and apparently richly expressive forms are produced. There are stools of two types in the Commercial Museum's collection: one, typical of the wood-work of the old, locally famed Nupe kingdom (or empire) centering around Bida, unique in form among African stools (having ten legs—the whole piece carved from a single block of wood); the other, a market-woman's tiny tabouret, carved in the style of the pagan Hausa (Abakpariga) craftsmen of the Jukun empire, in the middle Benue Valley. In addition, the collection includes a pair of old figurines of a kind produced by several of the peoples (Chamba, Jukun, Tiv) comprising the kingdom of Donga, a pair of which are traditionally put in every grain-field — serving in effect to render concrete the owner's concern for the safety and the fertility of his crops: this style of xoanon is most closely related to those of the eastern Sudan and the northern Congo regions, as typified in the Commercial Museum's collection by a figurine from the lower Ubangi valley (see next chapter).

A remarkable specimen confidently assigned to the Nigerian collection is a wooden food-bowl with four stubby legs and a single small handle at the rim (to facilitate tipping to pour), charred, and decorated with an intricate pattern of scored or incised lines: this specimen conforms in all respects to the products of a unique industry of the eastern Sudan (Region VI), particularly among the nomadic peoples of the Chad basin (Koyam, Shuwa Arabs, and others); however, it was attributed by the French in 1900 to French Guinea—a fact that suggests that this specimen may have a "personal history" of travel and trade of no small interest!

Remarkable in their way, too, is a small series of gourd bowls from the cattle-country that lies between Donga and Jalingo, the capital of Muri Emirate, manufactured there by nomadic Fulbe (or Fulani, as they are locally designated): the intricate but rather severe geometrical designs of these gourds are quite typical of Fulani work, and very nearly duplicate patterns still used in the Sahel and farther south in French Sudan.

Textiles and basketry. Considering the total area of Nigeria, and particularly that of the northern sector, there is no territory in Africa comparably rich in the variety of its textiles—as regards textures, materials, colors, and patterns of weaving and dyeing. No small collection could be expected to encompass a representative sample; but many of the most striking varieties are represented among the Commercial Museum's specimens. The common cloth of Bida and Kano (the commercial capital of Hausaland in recent times), widely utilized for work-clothing, is represented; also from Bida, a rare old example combining a cotton woof with a raphia warp.

There is a very wide variety of Tiv clothes, from the small open-work waist-cloths nowadays commonest on the north Benue shore (worn by both sexes), through the stouter, striped cloths of the South, to the large, enveloping toga-like cloth (formed of narrow strips woven on the horizontal loom) worn by Tiv dignitaries; specimens of all types, further, are to be seen tie-dyed in the distinctive Tiv style, sometimes described as "self-tied"—the cloth being simply tied or knotted upon itself to produce large, simple figures, rather than sewn to produce finely detailed, intricate patterns, before it is immersed in the indigo dye-vat.

There is a further interesting and varied series of cloths woven primarily by Jukun and "Jukunized" Turu and Abakpariga weavers of the Katsina Ala district, the Jukun kingdom of Wukari, and Donga: these several localities, with their environs, together comprise a continuous strip of territory with a vast pool of common tradition, and among them there is the liveliest sort of trade. Though women's headcloths are primarily represented, there is an extremely handsome and rare large specimen of the fine old Abakpariga tie-dye work, intricately patterned (the figures having been sewn with raphia thread before dyeing); and both a men's *riga* or robe and a woman's long wrap-around garment in the sober, handsome gingham-like pattern of Katsina Ala (a pattern probably introduced from northwestern Hausaland in the last century).

Among the headcloths is a strip typical of the finest, most beautifully patterned weaving done in Africa, comparing in color, fineness of texture, pattern and regularity of weaving with the best work of any place and any age: this is thought to be the work of northern Yoruba in the vicinity of Kabba town, but similar work is done also by the weavers of Wukari. The remainder are largely the work of the Abakpariga of Ibi and Donga, and are representative of the most colorful work done today in Africa, pleasingly patterned in reds, greens and purples—one specimen being, incidentally, still in the loom on which it was woven.

Basketry is relatively modestly represented, primarily by a series of men's hats: the great bulk of these is the work of nomadic Fulani in the Nupe district; several, interestingly enough, are of Hausa manufacture—representing a modification of the Fulbe style—and were collected in northern Togoland (presumably in one of the colonies of Hausa craftsmen and traders along the great overland route to the Gold Coast); one, quite unique in form (though related to styles to be observed both in Morocco and in the Horn of Africa), originates among the Kanuri

people, and is therefore to be assigned to the eastern Sudan (Region VI), which envelopes the basin of Lake Chad—upon which Nigeria abuts in the Northeast.

Unusual is a group of delicate basketry containers for kola nuts, with a pleasing simple checkerboard pattern in black and straw-color: these are the work of one of the Yoruba-speaking peoples in the vicinity of Kabba and Lokoja, near the junction of the Niger and Benue Rivers. Two winnowing-trays, quite similar in form to these, but much larger and coarser, being woven of peeled bamboo laths, come from Donga (cp. Liberian "fanners," and Bihe basketry trays from Angola).

Several household mats, though in no way striking objects, are certainly worth noting specially: the manufacture of mats of this sort—quite widespread in Africa—is the work of males from early childhood to the grave, engaging the hands almost constantly when they are otherwise free (as some women knit in Europe and America); narrow strips are plaited rapidly by herdboys, by boys on the watch for foraging birds and monkeys among the standing crops, by farmers resting at noonday, by old men gossiping at the cross-roads; the prolific fruit of this universal, unceasing industry is then sewn together and edged to form the 2′ x 5′ mat that is one of the material staples of the whole area, prodigally and indifferently used as carpet, bed, screen, wrapping material for parcels, even (though usually in somewhat modified fom) as "raincoat."

Finally, there is a series of circular gourd bowl covers, woven by nomadic Fulani women in the hinterland of Donga and of Muri Emirate, to the east. It is a matter of considerable interest to compare these materials, particularly the bowl covers and the hats, with similar materials, some of them produced also by Fulbe, from Senegal and vicinity, well over a thousand miles distant—whence the ancestors of the Fulani of Nigeria departed more than four hundred years ago!

Other materials. Among the most beautiful pieces of African leather-work in the Commercial Museum's varied collections are several decorated cushions attributed to craftsmen of Kano. Other leather-work, predominately Hausa in origin, includes tiny galena (eye-shadow) "bottles," purses, shoes and sandals.

Metal-work is represented by a few old pieces of Bida (Nupe) brass-work (hammered spoons, knife-sheaths, with stamped patterns), a ceremonial spear decorated with hammered brass and cast brass figure, of Tiv manufacture, a pair of handsome Hausa swords (essentially of Tuareg pattern), with leather scabbards and colorful lanyard attachments, from North Togo, and a Chamba hoe of simple and rather beautiful pattern.

Musical instruments are represented by the relatively rare, and very intriguing, "raft zither" of grass (incorporating a basketry rattle that produces a "hum" when the strings are plucked), ceremonial flutes from the Donga district, and the Hausa version (distinctive for its woven Morocco-leather decorations) of the universal African guitar-like stringed instrument: no three more representative instruments (apart from drums) from this area might be chosen.

PLATE V

North Africa and the Sahara

1. Fiber sandal; 12 inches long. Berber (?).
2. Leather bag, intricately embroidered in delicate colors (silk); 17 inches deep. Tunis.
3. Cotton cloth, patterned in red, black and white; width 50 inches. Northwestern Africa; Berber, or Moor (?).
4. Camel saddle; height 30 inches. Sahara; Tuareg (?).
5. Fiber mat; diameter 23 inches. Tunisia.
6. Child's camelshair coat with hood, embroidered in red and black; length, shoulder to hem, 20 inches. Tunis.
7. Fiber hat; diameter 26 inches.
8. Pale Morocco leather cushion, incised floral pattern; diameter 18 inches. Tunis.
9. Decorative pottery jar, painted red and black, varnished; 11 inches high. Algeria; Kabyle (Berber).
10. Camelhair tentcloth, patterned in black on white with touches of red-ochre and yellow; 9 x 18 feet. Sahara; Tuareg (?).

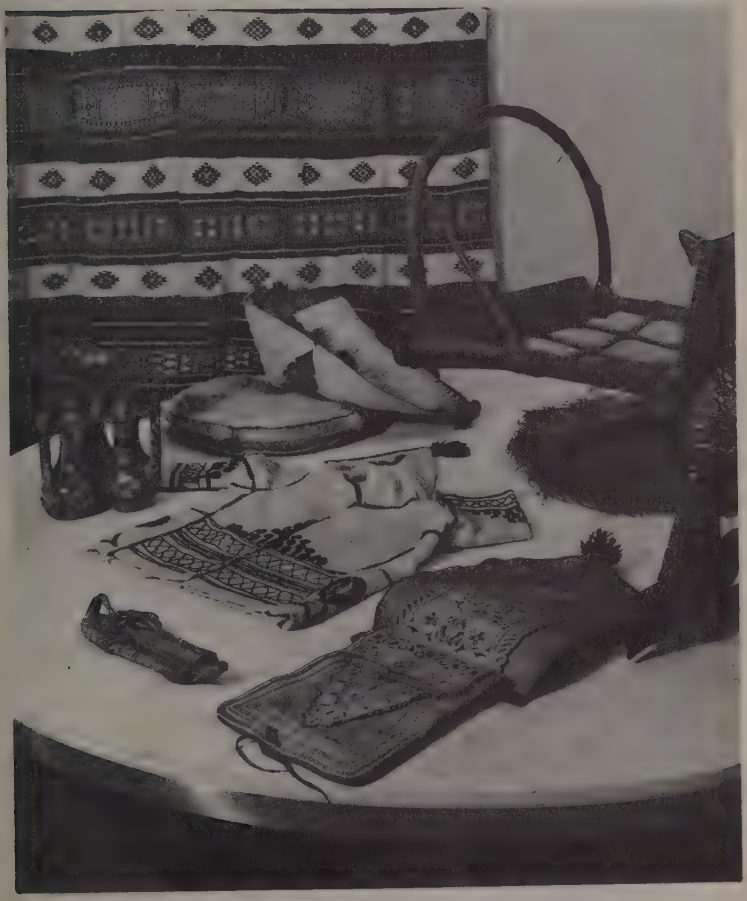


PLATE VI

Senegal, French Sudan, Portuguese Guinea

1. Cloth, resist-dyed, white circles on indigo ground; 80 x 150 inches. Senegal; Soninke, or Bambara.
2. Mat, grass; 45 x 97 inches high. Senegal.
3. Ceremonial drum; 54 inches high. Senegal.
4. Terra cotta bottle; 9 inches high. Senegal; Wolof or Serer.
5. Monoxyl stool or "back-rest," bound with iron at ends of legs and projecting supports; 24 inches high. Senegal.
6. Guitar-like harp, with gourd resonator and wrought iron rattle; 40 inches high. Sudanese Republic; Bambara, or Malinke.
7. Monoxyl figurine (female ancestor?) seated on stool; 12 inches high. Portuguese Guinea (Bissagos Islands), Bidyugo.
8. Earthenware bottle, red, unpolished; 8 inches high. Senegal; Serer.
9. Hat of raphia and straw (coiled technique), with leather trimmings; diameter (brim), 17 inches. Senegal; Bambara (?).
10. Hoe; 24 inches long. Senegal; Serer.
11. Gourd spoon, lightly incised-burnt pattern (including crosses and fish); diameter, 4 inches. Senegal.
12. Gourd bowl, heavily incised pattern; diameter, 11 inches. Senegal, Portuguese Guinea; Dyola or Bidyugo (?).
13. Covered basket of palm fiber; 7 inches high. Senegal, Sudanese Republic; Bambara.
14. Covered wooden bowl, burnt designs; 12 inches high. Portuguese Guinea (?); Bidyugo (?).

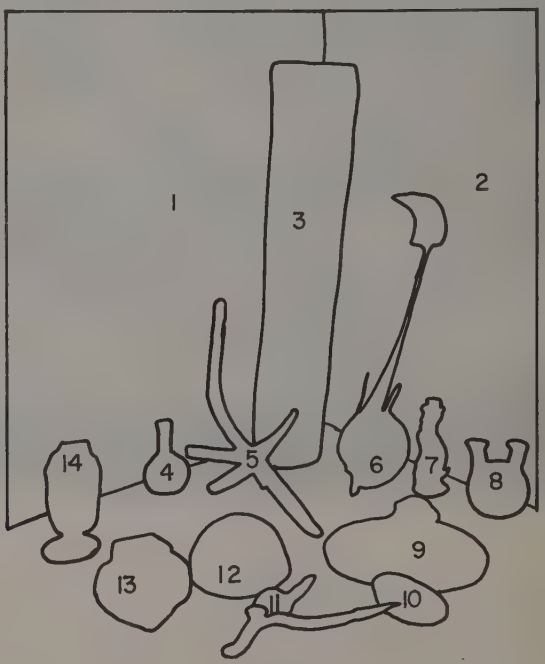


PLATE VII

Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast

1. "Sherbro cloth," longitudinal stripes of indigo; 82 x 170 inches. Liberia; Mandingo.
2. Wooden mask, painted pink, with white patterns; 22 inches long; shredded raphia cloak. Sierra Leone (?).
3. War drum, decorated with the skulls of enemy warriors; 54 inches high. Ivory Coast; Baule (of Tialasse).
4. Stool of joined blocks, cut from ribs of palm leaves, stained black; 12 inches high. Liberia; Mandingo (?).
5. Raphia pile cap, stained brown, with leather "buttons" and tie; 10 inches high. Liberia; Gola (?).
6. Elder's carved staff; 46 inches long. Liberia; Mandingo.
7. Female figurine in wood with articulated arms; 15 inches high. Ivory Coast; Kyama (Ebrié).
8. Strainer of cane; overall length, 15 inches. Liberia; De (?).
9. Xylophone, with gourd resonators; 8 inches high, 20 inches wide, 39 inches long. Sierra Leone.
10. Raphia bag; 7 inches long. Liberia; Kpelle.
11. Game board ("wari"), elaborately carved; stained black; 7 inches high, 32 inches long. Liberia; Kpelle (Kpwesi).
12. Juggler's spinning top (prototype of gyroscope?), made of tree gourd; diameter, 4 inches. Monrovia; Liberia.

PLATE VIII

Dahomey, Ghana

1. Carved bosses (human faces, animal figures), painted, from door of palace, Porto Novo. Dahomey; Yoruba.
2. Decorated calabash tray; diameter 18 inches. Dahomey (?); Yoruba (?).
3. Monoxyl ceremonial stool; 12 inches high. Ghana; Ashanti.
4. Finely patterned cotton cloth, woven in 8-inch strips. Dahomey; Yoruba (?).
5. Gelede helmet-mask, painted white, with red, green and blue patterns; 12 inches long (chin to crown). Dahomey; Yoruba.
6. Polished red earthenware jar, impressed designs; 16 inches high. Dahomey.
7. Female ancestor figurine, unpainted; 22 inches high. Dahomey; Fon.
8. Man's hat of platted palm fiber; diameter 15 inches. Dahomey.
9. Monoxyl tripod stool, incised pattern on seat; 9 inches high. Dahomey; Fon.
10. Egungun mask, burnt and stained; 16 inches high. Dahomey; Yoruba.
11. Ceremonial ax, cast in brass; 18 inches long (including handle). Dahomey; Fon.
12. Ifa covered bowl, painted orange, white and yellow ochre; 11 inches high. Dahomey (?); Yoruba.
13. Gelede mask, unpainted, representing soldier in French army cap; 12 inches high. Dahomey; Yoruba.
14. Joined stool, painted, representing Shango and attendants; 19 inches high. Dahomey; Fan (?), working under influence of Yoruba tradition (cp. 7, above).

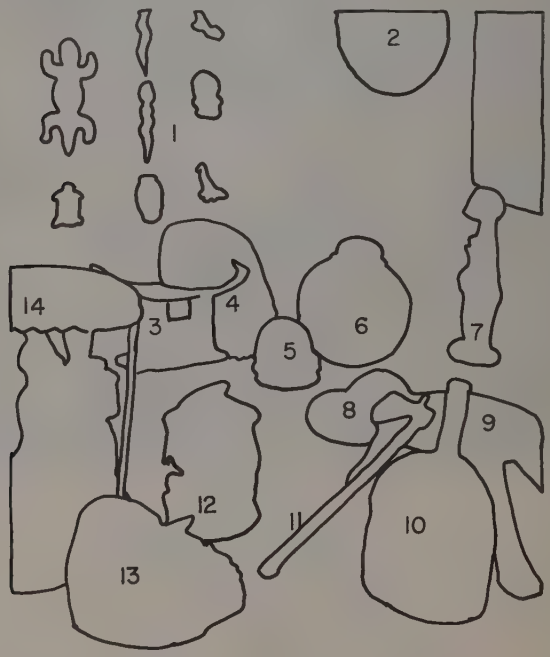
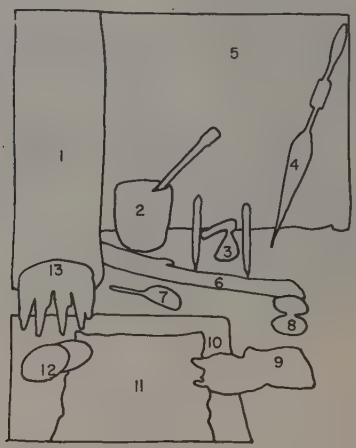


PLATE IX

Nigeria

1. Large tie-dyed (self-tied) cotton cloth; 50 x 82 inches. Northern Nigeria (Benue Province); Tiv.
2. Wooden (mahogany) household mortar and pestle; mortar, 14 inches high; pestle, 30 inches long. Northern Nigeria (Benue Province); Tiv.
3. Hoe; blade, 6 inches wide (cutting edge), 9 inches long (including tang), handle, 19 inches long. Northern Nigeria (Benue Province); Chamba-Jukun.
4. Ceremonial paddle, carved and perforated with designs representing chameleons; 63 inches long. Southwest Nigeria (Niger Delta); Ijo and Itsekiri.
5. Heavy cotton cloth, woven in narrow strips (men's loom); tie-dyed indigo (pattern in natural color). Northern Nigeria (Benue Province); Abakpariga - Jukun. 180 x 76 inches.
6. Pair (male and female) figurines, wood, stained red-ochre, field protectors; 17 inches high. Northern Nigeria (Benue Province); Chamba-Jukun.
7. Guitar-like instrument, three strings of horsehair, parchment-covered sound box decorated with strips of red morocco leather woven in check pattern (reverse); 17 inches long. Northern Nigeria (Kontagora); Hausa.
8. Market woman's monoxyl stool; diameter 6 inches, 4 inches high. Northern Nigeria (Benue Province); Abakpariga.
9. Indigo striped cotton cloth; 45 x 18 inches. Northern Nigeria (Benue Province); Tiv.
10. Household mat of palm fiber (men's manufacture); 39 x 71 inches. Northern Nigeria; Hausa (?).
11. Open-work cotton cloth; 21 x 37 inches. Northern Nigeria (Benue Province); Tiv.
12. Covered basketry tray, black and straw color pattern; diameter 8 inches. Northern Nigeria (Kabba Province); Yoruba.
13. Monoxyl stool, ten legs, deeply incised pattern on seat; 9 inches high, seat diameter 13 inches. Northern Nigeria (Bida); Nupe.



THE GREATER CONGO REGION: THE CAMEROONS, GABON, MIDDLE CONGO, BELGIAN CONGO, NORTHERN RHODESIA, ANGOLA

Region V.

This region, in vastness surpassed south of the Sahara only by East Africa, is united primarily by the consideration that most of its numerous and varied peoples speak Bantu languages of the so-called Middle Branch of the Niger-Congo family (which may well have become differentiated from the common stock in the north of Nigeria). Too, these peoples are primarily farmers, largely because of the incidence of "sleeping sickness" (Trypanosomiasis)—fatal to cattle as well as man—borne by the famed tsetse fly, a denizen of the thick streamside forests that stripe the entire region. Though this region is the most heavily forested today in Africa, less than one thirty-fifth of its total area is jungle; but that is widely distributed, so that virtually the whole region is to some degree affected by "the fly."

The history of the region, from the arrival of the Portuguese at the mouths of the Cameroons and Congo Rivers in the fourteenth century, has been checkered in the extreme. The Portuguese witnessed the high-water mark of such kingdoms as those of Loango and Loanda, and the rise and fall of the great Kongo empire, whose rulers briefly adhered to Christianity (even naming their capital São Salvador—"Holy Savior," in Portuguese); but the Portuguese withdrew from the area, allowing their ties to lapse; and some three hundred years and more passed before the Portuguese returned to re-establish their claims, in Angola and in the Cabinda Enclave, athwart the mouth of the Congo River.

The Atlantic Coast between the Congo and the Cameroons was little known until the nineteenth century, considered too unhealthy even to raid systematically for slaves. Its wealth in ivory—transitory, to be sure—and in hardwood, and the discovery of the efficacy of quinine in combatting malaria (proven by the British during their mid-century exploration of the lower Niger River) led the Europeans to share out the whole area: the French set themselves up at such places as Loango (Middle Congo) and Libreville (Gabon), at the mouth of the Ogowe *(ogo'way),* and pushed along the North bank of the Congo and its tributary, the Ubangi, thence down the northward-flowing Shari and Logone Rivers to the shores of Lake Chad; the British abandoned old interests in the Cameroons to the Germans, countering French claims with concessions in other areas; and the Spanish, who had been for a period superseded on the commanding island of Fernando Po by British power, returned once more, and were even vouchsafed a bridgehead on the mainland in the territory designated (more or less irrelevantly) Spanish Guinea (Rio Muni, on some maps).

Certainly the most unusual claim established in this period, however, was that of the Belgian King Leopold II over the area now known as the Belgian Congo. At the outset, this territory was not a dependency of Belgium, but the private estate of the King himself—an area of some 920,000 square miles, designated "The Congo Free State." In 1908, the

territory was annexed to Belgium, to be administered by the Belgian parliament.

The region has been affected, of course, not merely by European activities, initiated along the West Coast, but also by the generally unsettling slave- and ivory-hunting enterprise of Muslim Arabs emanating from Egypt and the Sudan to the North, and from settlements such as Malindi, Zanzibar and Sofala, on the East Coast; earlier, that of Persians. Even, in Medieval times, contact with China—through trade—is attested at Zimbabwe, in the ancient gold-fields of Southern Rhodesia (thought by some to have been the site of King Solomon's mines!), by the discovery there, by archeologists, of old Chinese pottery!

As has been indicated already (cp. p. 15), internal trade, particularly in the South Congo, has fostered a high degree of local specialization in the arts and crafts—in a situation roughly comparable to that already examined in the western Sudan (p. 29). Given the extent of the region, no collection of restricted size could do justice to the region's rich diversity; however, the Commercial Museum can boast of a collection as varied and as representative as any that might be assembled in the same space.

Wood-work. The largest single category of articles in wood from the Congo is that of sculptured figurines; and the most extensive group of these is a series of "fetishes" or "medicine-figurines" from Loango (serving to relieve the patient's anxieties in the absence of more effective remedies). Richly colored (as, in spite of popular misconceptions, African figurines rarely are) and varied in form, these represent the last phase of a branch, as it were, of the powerful and long-enduring classical Bakongo tradition of human representation in wood: by comparison with the finest of the old Kongo figurines, these latter-day specimens are "decadent," but in absolute terms they convey an impressive, almost frantic vitality, reinforced, of course, by the free use of color, largely lacking in the older figurines; there is about them too a certain humorous quality lacking in the staid old Kongo specimens. A sort of miniature mask, thumb-sized, of very fine workmanship specifically in the Vili style is unique. Also from the Loango district, and as appropriately treated in the category of woodwork as any other, is an interesting "fetish-girdle" of rope adorned with ornate "sailors'-knots" of rattan-like substance, dried mushrooms, bones, shells, and a unique rattle of wood carved in the form of a tortoise (an important character in much Central African folk-lore): probably of Fyot or even Kabinda workmanship.

From the hinterland, there is a large and handsome "back-rest" or "chaise-longue" of the Yombe (Mayombe), and two Kongo figurines, one of which, while preserving still major elements of the classic Kongo style, is likely to have been carved for tourists. This last specimen is of particular interest in that it indicates that work for "the foreign trade" is not a very recent innovation, and does not necessarily imply degeneration of style and technique.

Three carvings of the Teke (Bateke) people—inhabiting both banks of the Congo in the vicinity of Stanley Pool—are specially noteworthy as figurines of classic excellence: in general, the Teke style of rendering the

human face and figure is strongly conventionalized, technically achieved with great competence and never unpleasing, but often severly plain. In the face of the male in the larger pair of figurines—male and female—in the Museum's collection, however, the sculptor has realized a rare simple beauty, from the viewpoint of the Western observer, by contrast with the other figurines, the lines of the countenances of which are less distinguished. All three appear to be of the "fetish" type characteristic of the lower reaches of the River—typified, perhaps, by the Loango figurines already examined—as evidenced by the abdominal cavity, in the small figurine still charged with "medicine" bound in place with a rare example of Congo cotton fabric.

An undecorated, but handsome, well-porportioned sanza comes from the same area, but lacks any special feature to confirm that it is specifically of Teke origin.

From the Gabon-Cameroons border comes an old and very fine ancestor memorial, the largest figurine in the Museum's collections, carved in the classic style of the fan or Fang (pronounced *fawhn, hn* as "uhn-huhn"; alternative French name, Pahouin). There is from the same people a series of beautifully carved and delicate wooden spoons. An interesting miniature figurine from the same general area, a portrait of a European dignitary carved from a palm-nut, is of note, in view of its subject and age, but cannot be attributed to a particular source.

A classic type of memorial figurine, relatively rare also, is characteristic of the Kota (Bakota) peoples, to the East of the Fang, in the Middle Congo. Typically, this sort of figurine is so highly stylized as to approach a wholly abstract representation—only the broad face, plated with beaten strips of brass and copper, is clearly recognizable for what it is. The Commercial Museum's specimen—which appears to be the work of an artist specifically of the Ondumbo tribe or sub-tribe of the Kota—is perhaps particularly noteworthy owing to its excellent condition: very often the wooden base of old figurines of this sort is crumbling away, virtually consumed by the combination of beetles, termites and tropical rot.

Eastward, in the elbow of the Ubangi River, are the Mgbaka (sometimes rendered Nebaka, or simply Bwaka), speaking not a Bantu language but one affiliated with the Eastern Branch of the same family (Niger-Congo). The art in wood of these little known people—who are culturally closely related to the more familiar Zande, farther East—is represented by a small though varied display. A single figurine, reminiscent of the Chamba "field-guardian" (p. 55) in its lines, but demonstrating greater attention to detail; a tin-lined pipe-bowl of wood representing a human head; small bird figures, stylized in much the same manner as the figurine, and also decorated with "poker-work" patterns; and an array of tortoise figures—legs, head and tail-piece carved in ebony and joined to carefully cleaned tortoise-shells (of two distinct species); wooden bells for hunting dogs (a very characteristic product of this area); double- and single-membrane drums; and a most remarkable xylophone with unusual trough-resonator of wood (a unique adaptation of the so-called slit-gong—a kind of all-wood drum, without membrane—as of course are also the above-mentioned wooden bells, in a manner of speaking.)

Unhappily, wood-carving from a number of important areas in the heart of the region is lacking. Far to the south, however, along the Congo-Angola-Rhodesia border, are two peoples that have made a rich contribution, both to world art, and, directly to the point, to the Commercial Museum's Congo collection: these are the Luena (or Luvale), and the Chokwe (or Bachokwe; variously written in Flemish, Portuguese and French as Badjok, Quioco, Kioko, Tchokwe, etc.). The former have contributed a pair of highly stylized and beautifully finished figurines, a joined stool (the rungs of which are decorated with a lively little procession of people), a handsome, finely carved tobacco-box and snuff-mortar (combined), and a series of elegant ceremonial staves, surmounted by heads (cp. figurines), geometrical figures, a bird.

The Luena (pronounced *looway'na)* style, which is little known even among specialists, is quite similar in many respects to that of the related Chokwe *(choh-kway)* people. The Chokwe, however, have one type of figurine that is entirely individual, with no counterpart in Luena art: this is the figure identified as a hunter-warrior, and usually described as conveying violence by the expression of its countenance, the pose of its large, knotted, meticulously delineated hands—by its whole stance, in fact; the sole specimen of Chokwe sculpture in this collection is one of these figures.

It is, indeed, a remarkable specimen. Comparing it with other known and generally admired specimens of the sort, observers are agreed that it is probably the finest in existence: a fatuous expression, ordinarily; but none other will fit the case! The specimen is apparently entirely unique too, in that it is surmounted by a hollow tube: the precise function of this tube (accordingly, of the whole figurine) cannot be stated with certainty; possibly the figurine is essentially a "medicine"-receptacle (like the Loango and Teke specimens), or, just possibly, the tube was designed to receive a bunch of feathers or the like, simply for decoration.

Of further interest, it will be recalled that the French in 1900 attributed this specimen, surprisingly, to the collection of King Tofa of Porto Novo (see p. 38). It is a matter for speculation of the most unsatisfactory, the most tantalizing kind, of course, how that gentleman may have acquired the piece; still more provocative is the fact that the unique, even anomalous, Egungun mask described at p. 40, above, and somewhat doubtfully assigned to a hypothetical Fon-Yoruba "school" of sculpture, copies the most distinctive—and baffling—feature of the Chokwe figurine, namely, the tube surmounting the head!

In short, this specimen, by raising a number of fascinating (however unanswerable) questions as to the possibility of contact, even mutual influences, between African peoples and cultures at a distance, has a certain contribution to make toward an understanding of Africa as it confronts the world today, a place of bewilderingly diverse cultures built up largely of common, oft-recurring elements great and small.

Southeast of the Luena-Chokwe peoples in Rhodesia lies the historical Lozi (or Rotse, Barotse) empire, a more or less typical South Congo

organization of divergent peoples: within the group, a considerable degree of craft-specialization appears to have developed, though unfortunately data that might permit the precise attribution of particular crafts, even particular specimens, to particular tribes within the area are not always available.

From the general area, and provisionally assigned to the Lozi themselves (but possibly of riverain Tonga workmanship), comes a number of figurines in two styles, among them a rare and curiously stylized figure (designated "the King's messenger"), and a canoe manned by a full crew; also a number of elegant oval bowls in wood, each with tightly fitting cover surmounted by a knob or handle in animal form (elephant, antelope, snakes), possibly the work of the Subya (or Sesheke) people, who may also have contributed to the collection an ivory-headed staff or cane decorated with two miniature buffalo figures.

In addition to its sculptured figurines, of course, the Congo region as a whole is particularly noted for its fine, almost infinitely varied masks: most of them are carved in wood; some, however, are modeled in various materials, including textiles, gum, wax, and so on, over twig frames. The Mbunda (Mambunda) subjects of the Lozi utilize both sorts in their dramatic dance-cycles, and the Commercial Museum is very fortunate in possessing an unusually large and varied selection of masks collected among the Mbunda in the first years of this century: similar masks are utilized throughout this particular area, and it is by no means certain that all who use them manufacture them as well; for example, it is quite possible that all wooden masks used by various peoples throughout the area are carved by the Subya.

The Mbunda *likishi* (= dance-masks) represent a number of mythology-based types — Sachiongo, the father of dancing, his wife and son; Ngalohanga, the doctor; Monyamba, the sorcerer and witch; Mbambanengo, "the ancient bird that travels sideways"; and so on—and the dances themselves, apparently largely secular performances, though built up of traditional (including ritual) elements, manage to achieve topical effects—in fact, like dramatic performances everywhere.

Among the minor wood-carvings from this area are large and small single-membrane drums (the former from Angola), an ivory trumpet, household mortars, and so on.

Textiles; basketry. Cotton fabrics, such as are typical of the western Sudan, and, to only a slightly less extent, of the Guinea Coast regions, are a rarity in the Congo—where they are in effect replaced by bark-cloth and by raphia fabrics in great variety. The raphia loom of the Congo (which is also found sporadically along the Guinea Coast) is quite distinct from all other known looms, and is thought to be an independent local invention: though the loom most closely resembles, perhaps, the women's loom of the western regions, weaving is nevertheless a man's work, in the Congo.

Bark-cloth is fashioned from strips of the inner bark of various trees, most commonly in this area, perhaps, a variety of fig (not unlike the

"fiddle-leaf" fig or "rubber-tree" that has recently become popular in modern homes—which in equatorial Africa develops quickly a substantial girth, however): strips of the fibrous bark-lining, properly treated, are pounded on a log, usually with a scored ivory mallet, several strips being thus welded together to form "cloths" of a size suitable either for the man's voluminous "loin-cloth" or for the woman's (in some districts also the man's) (ankle-length wrap-around garment, comparable to those of the western regions conventionally woven of cotton).

Basketry is very highly developed virtually throughout the Congo region, and though the Commercial Museum's collection is small it is pretty well representative of the finest that is produced in the region.

From the Gabon-Middle Congo area in these related categories there are four exquisitely fine-textured raphia cloths, sparsely marked with a woven pattern in black against the natural straw-colored ground, of Teke (pronounced *tay'kay)* workmanship, and a single ordinary, somewhat coarser cloth of indeterminate origin (possibly Fang).

From the vicinity of the Middle Congo also come a series of beautifully patterned veneered baskets, and a number of handsomely woven stout mats of the sort used locally as floor-coverings and the like: all probably of Teke and of Kongo origin, as may be in addition certain other relatively nondescript but nonetheless interesting items (baskets, string-covered gourd bottles, knotted twine bags) that give added depth to the picture of the local culture and its resources.

A soft hat of wide strips of raphia, twisted and coiled, of the sort worn by men, can be assigned to the Kongo; a handsome woman's hat—a surprisingly modish cloche—of stiff basketry, embroidered all over with beads, and affecting a fringe of knotted fiber above the face, seems likely to be Kongo or Teke in origin—possibly part of the ceremonial costume of a masked dancer (probably of a man impersonating a woman, in fact.)

The Mgbaka have contributed a similar array of materials: among these of special note are a man's stiff straw hat, painted with large geometrical figures in red, black and white, to signify mourning (and a certain number of similarly decorated accessories—belt, bracelets—of stiff bark); also, though not strictly speaking woven, women's raphia string loin-coverings, one uniquely decorated with down and feather attachments; various types of mats and baskets, including an unusual, large rattle woven from a sort of cane, or rattan; and finally a specimen of undecorated stained bark-cloth, such as is utilized virtually throughout the North Congo (and some distance southward), as well as beyond the borders of the eastern regions.

From the Kasai-Sankuru district, in the heart of the region, the home of the Kuba (pronounced *koo'ba),* comes the *chef d'oeuvre* of Congo textile art, raphia "velvet" or "plush," a heavy pile-cloth, geometrically patterned in many subdued shades: of this material there are several examples that qualify as treasured antiques.

From the far South, the chief specimens in these related categories are a series of Mbunda covered baskets in a number of varied forms and

styles, finely woven of stout root-fiber, and decorated with geometrical figures in black. Distinctive in form, these were used solely by members of the Lozi royal family, and were produced by the Mbunda as annual tribute. There is also in the collection a royal mat of the Lozi, a wall- or door-hanging woven of reeds and colored fiber twine—generally attributed to the Lozi, but possibly of Tonga or other origin.

A single basketry sifter of extremely delicate workmanship and unusually beautiful, vase-like form, is thought to be of Chokwe origin. Two small black-and-white checkered basketry trays—handsome, though of a coarse material (split bamboo)—are attributed provisionally to the Bihe *(bee'ay)* or some neighboring and related people of Mbundu (Ovimbundu) stock of Angola.

Metal-work. Congo metal-work is varied and of excellent quality. In the Commercial Museum's collection, farming implements are virtually totally lacking, but from the lower reaches of the Congo River, behind Loango, come a series of axes, and a small selection of blacksmiths' tools. Weapons from widely scattered areas are very well represented, as detailed below.

The most distinctive weapon of the whole region is the "throwing-iron": a curious star-like implement with numerous dagger-sharp blades pointing in all directions, mortally effective whether tossed into a flock of wildfowl or hurled at the massed ranks of a charging enemy. Varied specimens —well illustrating the multiplicity of forms that the throwing-iron takes—come from the Fang, the Mgbaka and the Kuba. The last is perhaps of special interest, since the Kuba are reputed first to have brought, in their ancestral migrations, the throwing-iron with them south of the Congo River and into the Kasai-Sankuru district; hence, they are known among their neighbors not as Bakuba (their own name for themselves) but as Bushoong (pronounced *boo shawng')* or Bushongo, "the people of the throwing-iron."

There are spears in considerable variety, some of them highly decorated, with carved and brass-wrapped handles: from the Cameroons, from the Ubangi area, from the Kasai district.

From the Ntumba comes a highly ornate knife, of the sort characteristic generally of the Congo-interior. Deemed a treasure is a handsomely sculptured wrought-iron Songe *(sohn'gay)* ceremonial ax with copper-clad handle.

The most varied specimens of iron-work come from the Mgbaka, including—besides articles mentioned already—a wide range of arrow-points, spear-points, knife-blades of all kinds, ornaments (see below) and, quite unique, two pieces of the large Mgbaka "hoe-money": this, beautifully finished, though patterned on an archaic form of hoe, is thought never to have constituted currency in the ordinary sense, but rather to have been used in only a limited number of transactions largely of a ritual nature. Other iron money, very roughly beaten into the form of a tanged adz, comes from the Ngoli, farther south.

From the far South, the collection has also a number of arrow-points forged by the Totela (Matotela)—the blacksmith tribe of the Lozi empire.

In addition, there are ornaments in various metals: most striking, surely, a pair of heavily incised ten-pound "neck-weights," from the Ntumba (along with a number of ordinary anklets and bracelets of several sorts); simple copper bangles from the Kaonde (Makaonde); and iron rings, bracelets and a decorative multiple chain necklace from the Mgbaka.

Pottery. Pottery in the Commercial Museum's collection comes most notably from two areas; the lower Congo, and Rhodesia. That from the former is highly varied in form and style of decoration, principally in accord with variations in the type of clay utilized: the darker pots—some of them very old pieces—are pleasingly simple in form, but ornately decorated with incised or impressed geometrical patterns; the lighter colored assume rather more elaborate forms, but are unincised (though the coloring itself is decorative in effect.) All are attributed to the Kongo, inhabiting a number of distinct villages.

From the South, there are several highly varied specimens of Luena black pottery, in certain respects similar to the Kongo dark colored ware, but infinitely more refined in every detail—some, very nearly as delicate as porcelain. In addition, there are examples of the classic Lozi red-and-cream polished pottery: in both color and form, these are highly decorative; incised designs—in accord with the generalizations regarding the pottery of the lower Congo area—are scanty, or lacking entirely.

THE EASTERN SUDAN, THE HORN OF AFRICA, EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA

Regions VI, VII and VIII

The remainder of Africa, a third of the continent, though generally sparsely populated, is an area of remarkable contrasts and accordingly of considerable fascination. Physically, it is an area of vast plains, for the most part, that have from time immemorial served in effect as the marshalling grounds of countless tribes of nomads with their herds of great-horned cattle: the overall picture, however, is modified by scattered local features, such as the Ethiopian highlands, the branching tributaries of the Nile (in the South of the Sudan Republic) that annually turn a vast expanse of country into marshland, the "Great Lakes" district that lies between the Congo and East Africa proper, and the Kalahari Desert, in southwestern Africa.

Culturally speaking, it is possible to divide this portion of the continent into three distinctive regions. First of all, there is the Horn of Africa, comprising the Ethiopian highlands, with the desert Somali Coast eastward, its peoples including a large proportion of "cattle-nomads" (Danakil, Somali, Galla) but dominated for hundreds of years by the Ethiopians, with their ancient civilization. Second, that cultural region designated simply East Africa for convenience, including the Upper Nile district inhabited by the Nilotic peoples (see p. 17, above), inland toward the north, together with the Southwest of the continent, as well as the whole East Coast to the south of Somaliland. This is the largest single region of the continent, but, so far as cattle-herding is the dominant interest, culturally uniform

apart from mere islands, such as sporadic settlements of Bantu farmers (often subjugated by pastoralists—hence, their interests subordinated), who are perhaps most numerous in the Mozambique sector; and also notably the Bushman hunters of the Kalahari Desert (in effect, the counterpart of the isolated Pygmy societies of the Congo region). Finally, the eastern Sudan, from the basin of Lake Chad (in Northern Nigeria) eastward to the Red Sea at Suakin, via a narrowing corridor—crowded by the Sahara, by the Nile valley salient of the North African region, in turn as it were pushing through the peoples of the Horn (see map). The situation is comparable to that examined in western Senegal (see pp. 27-8, above); the eastern Sudan as a whole is a transitional region, showing numerous strong ethnic and cultural links with all the surrounding regions, but is nonetheless distinctive, by virtue primarily of the distinctive combination of shared features that is achieved within its borders.

The point can be made most impressively, perhaps, by reference to the Arab population of the eastern Sudan region—long numerous there. Both the Horn and the eastern Sudan have been closely linked to the Arabian Peninsula, across the Red Sea, from time immemorial, but from Arabia these two regions have attracted quite different elements, for the most part: Ethiopia has appealed to the civilized Himyarites and Sabaeans (of the realm of the Queen of Sheba); the eastern Sudan, apart from a mere sprinkling of Himyarites (as represented by certain aristocratic elements in the Sheikhdom of Bornu, on the shores of Lake Chad, for example), largely transient,[1] has tended to draw pastoral nomads—grandsons of Abraham, sons of Ishmael! The eastern Sudan's Arabian cattle-nomads, then, differentiate the area immediately from the Horn, and also from East Africa, and from the western Sudan, where the chief herding peoples are, respectively, Hamitic, Nilotic and Bantu, and Fulbe, with differing histories and differing cultural traditions; from the Sahara, where Arabs, like Tuareg, breed camels, not oxen; from North Africa, where Arabs are predominantly non-pastoral.

It is convenient to consider the Commercial Museum's very small collection from the eastern regions of the continent region by region, district by district, simply, without first reducing the materials to technological categories (as has been done in earlier sections).

From the eastern Sudan, there are a small number of articles from the vicinity of Suakin, collected by German travelers in the late nineteenth century: there are primarily household utensils in wood, gourd dippers, wooden bowls (some in graceful forms, but undecorated), ladles, and stools; such pottery as there is—including small "table-drums" with single painted parchment membrane—differs sharply from the great mass of African pottery in that it is clearly turned on a potter's-wheel; and there are a few miscellaneous items, such as a tambourine of Oriental design (with tin jingles), fans of dyed feathers and gilt- and colored paper, and so on.

The larger part of the specimens from the Horn of Africa comes from

[1] The Yoruba, for example, and a number of peoples of Northern Nigeria as well, claim descent from Himyarite migrants!

Masawa, in Eritrea, from Obock and Djibuti, in French Somaliland, and from other points along the coast to the east and south. From the Amhara district of Ethiopia there are two specimens only, both typically African in spite of the ancient ties of these people with the East: a monoxyl stool of a pattern that is closely reproduced in such far-removed areas as French Guinea and the Congo; and the universal African cow-tail fly-switch.

The specimens from Masawa are in much the same categories as those from Suakin (and reached the Commercial Museum from the same German sources): in general, however, the specimens from Masawa are more decorative, have more or less intricate geometrical patterns incised on exposed surfaces.

Materials from the Somali Coast are, by contrast, numerous and varied, and generally are still more decorative than the Eritrean specimens. There is little wood-carving: in this category, however, are many small articles, such as heavily carved spoons, and several beautiful and characteristic headrests ("wooden pillows"), carved in wood, horn and ivory, of unusual interest in that the identical patterns are followed throughout East Africa and into the Congo—evidence of an old connection; and there are a few large bowls and jars (some with leather carrying apparatus decorated with cowry shells), and a household mortar.

Leather-work and basketry are well represented. In the former category are objects in much the same range as those from Senegal (sandals, bags, cushions and the like), though there is a rather greater proportion of undyed leather and rawhide, often decorated with shells; of special interest are a number of shields, a jacket of buckskin, and a cloak or hanging heavily embroidered with beads in large geometrical patterns. The basketry from this region is, on the whole, quite distinctive; typical specimens in the Commercial Museum's collection include a number with intricate woven patterns in red and black, pink and purple, bottle-shaped with fancifully peaked cover and flaring base, decorated with shells and glass and metal beads. Also characteristic is a type of very large gourd bottle, with finely woven basketry neck and mouth, and protected—in a manner appropriate to a nomadic life in a rugged country—by a surrounding basket-like framework of withies.

Apart from a single handsome sword, metal-work is represented by a highly varied selection of ornaments, jewelry, and the like, chiefly in brass—a graduated series of typical Danakil bangles, and numbers of beautifully wrought, distinctively patterned earrings and other ornaments of many sorts.

From East Africa, the majority of specimens are from the Zaramo (German, Saramo) or Wazaramo, a Bantu-speaking people of the central sector of the East Coast (Tanganyika, former German East Africa). The sole figurine in wood from East Africa—where representational sculpture is not so common as it is in the western regions—comes from these people, it is thought, in an extremely rare style somewhat reminiscent of certain Lower Congo styles, though to all appearances far less practiced. In addi-

tion, there are samples of Zaramo basketry, and mats of several sorts (one of them unique in its brilliantly colored pattern of narrow stripes), along with raphia "dancing-skirts," and the like. A large, but very fragile wide-mouthed, conoid basket of split papyrus stems, probably from the lacustrine area, is an unusual specimen of great interest; but possibly the most distinguished single item of this sort is a tall milk-bottle cap, typical of the Hima and Tusi "cattle-kingdoms," also in the lacustrine area (particular Ruanda-Urundi).

Metal-work is scantily represented by a series of Masai spears, a unique, bead-decorated "sweat-scraper" (an instrument like a long-handled, curved palette knife, used for flicking sweat and dust from the face by the naked herdsmen of many of the Nilotic and "Nilo-Hamitic" peoples of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika—the Nandi, Suk, Masai and others; and, from the extreme South of the region, a beautiful lunate ax of the finest steel-like hand-forged native iron, ornamented with hand-struck patterns applied with classic restraint, and to be attributed to one of the southern Bantu peoples—Tswana or some other, such as Ndebele (the "Matabele" of the nineteenth century history), Xhosa, or Zulu.

Miscellaneous items from the East and South include an old "trough-zither" with vegetable-fiber strings, a Zaramo dancing-rattle anklet of unusual design, a number of knobkerries" such as are characteristic of the Southern Bantu peoples, and a necklace of ostrich egg-shell discs—a typical product of the Bushmen of the Kalahari, and of the nearly related Hottentot peoples to the Southwest.

The Commercial Museum's collections from the eastern regions are, thus, scanty, and must be judged inadequate to represent the work of the varied population; and yet it will have been observed that the great majority of these specimens are in fact characteristic—in technique, in material, in pattern, or in all three; so that from them can be gained some little insight, nonetheless, into the more or less subtly varied circumstances of life and the varied traditions that have contributed to the cultures of this vast territory.

PLATE X

Northwest Congo Region (including Gabon and Middle Congo)

1. Hat, palm-fiber, painted with patterns in red, white, and black, for mourning; diameter (at brim), 11 inches. Belgian Congo (Ubangi district); Mgbaka.
2. Woman's raphia loin covering, dyed black and decorated with down and feathers; strings 14 inches long (from waist). Belgian Congo (Ubangi); Mgbaka.
3. "Fetish" figurines. Congo Republic (Loango). Left to right: Male figurine stained red ochre, white "medicine" cache, and black and white patterns on face and head; 10 inches high. Male figurine stained black; shoulders, red; glass eyes; 9 inches high. Seated female figurine, stained apricot and lemon yellow; hands and stool, natural wood; mirror over magenta "medicine" cavity (stomach), key projecting between breasts; glass eyes; 11 inches high.
4. "Thumb piano" (sanza), with incised patterns, iron keys; 13 inches high, 7 inches wide. Congo Republic (Loango).
5. Pottery bowl and bottle, black, with incised patterns; diameter (bowl at rim), 7 inches; height (bottle), 10 inches. Congo Republic; Kongo.
6. Dog bells of wood, stained; diameters, 4 and 5 inches, 3 and 4 inches high. Belgian Congo (Ubangi); Mgbaka.
7. Wooden spoons carved in light yellow wood; 6 inches long. Gabon; Fang (?).
8. Rattle formed of segment of giant bean (Entada Scandens); 7 x 6 inches. Gabon.
9. Raphia pile cloth (in colors); lower 21 x 25; upper 22 x 36. Belgian Congo; Bakula.
10. Covered receptacle, patterned basketry (tubular matting) over cylinder formed of splints; diameter, 9 inches, 9 inches high. Congo Republic; Kongo (?).
11. "Fetish" figurine (male), stained, heavily oiled on face; 16 inches high. Congo Republic; Teke.
12. "Charm," miniature mask of wood; 3 inches long. Congo Republic; Bavili (?).
13. Wrought-iron necklace; 18 inches long, diameter of single link, 1½ inches. Belgian Congo (Ubangi); Mgbaka.

PLATE XI
South Congo Region (including Angola and Northern Rhodesia)

1. Dance mask (Likishi) formed of gourd, painted black with red and white spots, with feather top-knot; crocheted fiber-string suit in brown and black; representing Monyamba the Sorcerer (see text, p. 60); diameter (gourd), 12 inches; length, shirt (neck to waist), 21 inches. Northern Rhodesia; Mambunda.
2. Reed mat with patterns in black and brown fiber twine; 38 x 55 inches. Northern Rhodesia; Lozi ("Barotse").
3. Dance mask (Likishi) with feather cloak and hoop skirt of fiber; representing Mbambanengo, "the ancient bird that travels sideways"; 75 inches high.
4. Root-fiber basketry, black pattern on natural straw-color; 10 inches high, diameter (mouth) 7 inches. Northern Rhodesia; Mambunda.
5. Polished red and cream bottle, incised pattern; 11 inches high. Northern Rhodesia; "Barotse."
6. Carved figurine, "the king's messenger," burnt patterns on light wood; 21 inches high. Northern Rhodesia; "Barotse."
7. Single-membrane drum; 12 inches high. Rhodesia.
8. "Fetish" figurine of warrior-hunter, stained and polished; 16 inches high. (Reputedly collected c. 1899 by King Tofa of Porto Novo. Dahomey.) Angola—Belgian Congo—Northern Rhodesia; Chokwe.
9. Ceremonial staves; left, 27 inches, and right, 34 inches; center, 29 inches, is Chokwe in style. Joined stool with membrane seat, carved rungs; 13 x 9 x 10 inches. Northern Rhodesia; Luena.
10. Cassava sifter, grass and palm fiber; diameter 8 inches, 16 inches long. Angola-Congo; Chokwe pattern.
11. Black pottery bowl, incised pattern; diameter 6 inches, 4 inches high. Northern Rhodesia; Luena.

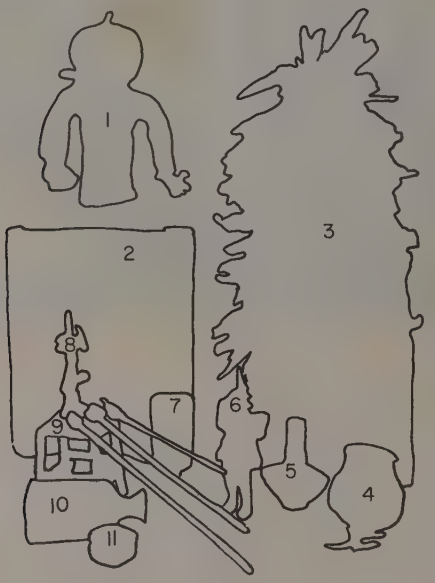


PLATE XII

The Eastern Sudan and the Horn of Africa (including Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, in the vicinity of Lake Chad, the Suakin district of the Sudanese Republic, Eritrea, Ethiopia and the Somalilands)

1. Fringed leather hanging or cloak; 36 x 66 inches. Somaliland.
2. Water jar, gourd, in frame of withies; 28 inches high. Somaliland.
3. Monoxyl wooden stool; diameter (seat); 13 inches, 7 inches high. Ethiopia.
4. Fly-switch (cow tail), with ivory handle; 22 inches long. Ethiopia.
5. Wheel-turned pottery "table-drums," parchment membrane painted orange; diameter (membrane surface), 5 inches, 6 inches high. Sudan Republic (Suakin).
6. Covered basket, patterned in violet, rose and natural straw-color, 20 inches high. Somaliland.
7. Head rest ("wooden pillow"); 7 inches high. Somaliland.
8. Selection of ornaments. Somaliland.
   a. Earrings, brass. Danakil.
   b. Bracelets, brass. Danakil.
9. Hat of palm fiber, patterned in black, red-ochre and natural straw-color, knob trimmed in leather; diameter (rim), 26 inches, 10 inches high. Northern Nigeria (Bornu Province); Kanuri.
10. Wooden bowl, charred and incised; diameter (rim), 10 inches, 6 inches high. Vicinity Lake Chad; Shuwa Arab and Koyam.

PLATE XIII

Greater East Africa (including Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, South and Southwest Africa)

1. Mat, striped in black, red and yellow (straw-color); 45 x 90 inches. Tanganyika.
2. Sword, with rawhide sheath and girdle; 31 inches long. Tanganyika; Masai.
3. "Trough zither," vegetable-fiber strings; 20 x 5 x 8 inches. Tanganyika.
4. "Sweat scraper," wrought-iron, with bead decorations in blue, green, and white; 18 inches long. Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika; as used by Masai, Nandi and others.
5. Female figurine in wood, nose-stud and multiple ear-studs in white metal; 18 inches high. Tanganyika; Wazaramo.
6. Basket, sewn papyrus pith; diameter (rim), 20 inches, 11 inches deep. Tanganyika (interlacustrine district).
7. Ceremonial ax, incised patterns on shank of blade; handle, 26 inches long, blade (point to point in straight line), 11 inches. Bechuanaland; Tswana (?).
8. Basket; diameter, 5 inches, 15 inches deep. Tanganyika.
9. Basketry, milk bottle cover, patterned in black and natural straw; 17 inches high. Ruanda-Urundi; Tusi.

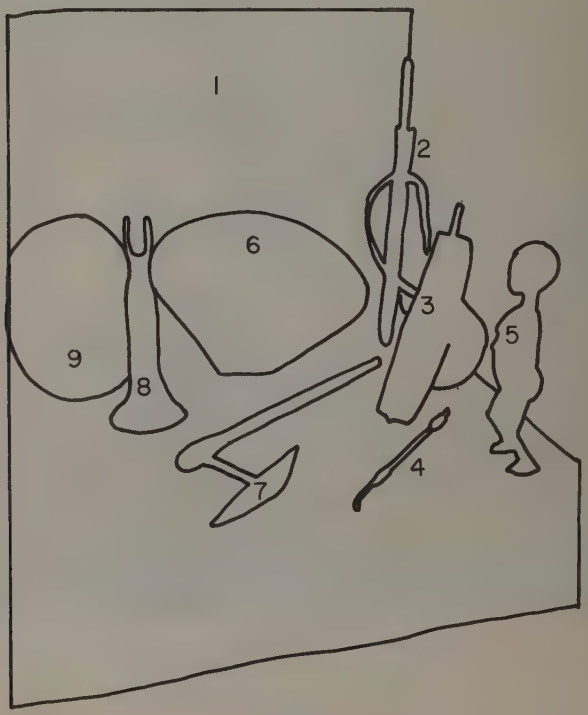
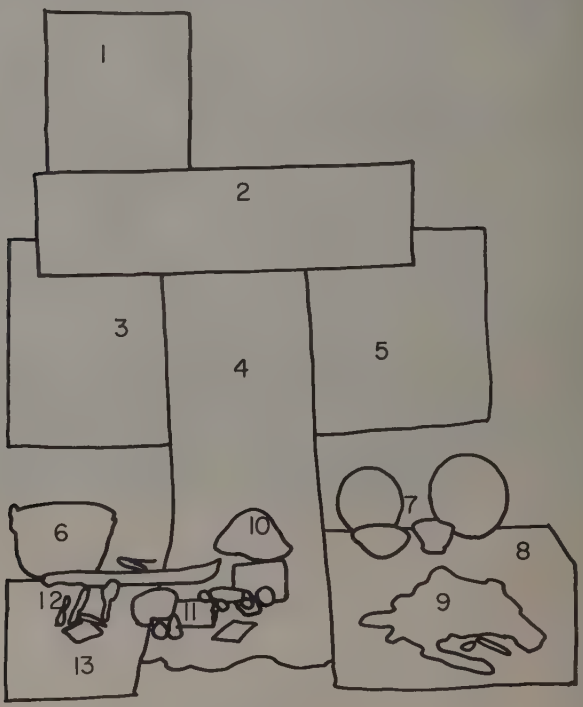


PLATE XIV

Trade Goods Imported by European Agents (19th Century)

1. Multi-colored, jacquard woven, striped cloth, manufactured in France; 78 x 36 inches. Guinea Republic.
2. Indigo and white cloth, printed to imitate tie-dye pattern. Imitation tie-dye was a stock in trade of some English manufacturers. 58 x 28 inches. Congo Republic.
3. Indigo and yellow cloth, printed in Southeast Asian pattern; 32 x 38 inches. Congo Republic.
4. Indigo and white, jacquard woven cloth. Manufactured in France; 40 x 76 inches. Senegal.
5. Printed bandana cloth, pattern of European hats in red, white and navy; 29 x 29 inches.
6. Brass pan, with bail; diameter 12 inches, height 7 inches.
7. Assorted plates and bowls of European manufacture.
8. Indigo and white woven cloth, imitating native cloth woven in strips and sewn together. Manufactured in England; 39 x 31 inches.
9. Assorted trade beads from Czechoslovakia, Italy and Germany.
10. Machine embroidered "deer stalker" (Sherlock Holmes) cap; Congo Republic. Mirrors and eyeglasses manufactured in Germany.
11. Combs, brass bells, bank and belt.
12. Machete (Manchester), razor-knife. Bone handled Sheffield knife, fork; tablespoon. French cigarette papers.
13. Bandana cloth, printed in yellow, black and red; 25 x 28 inches.



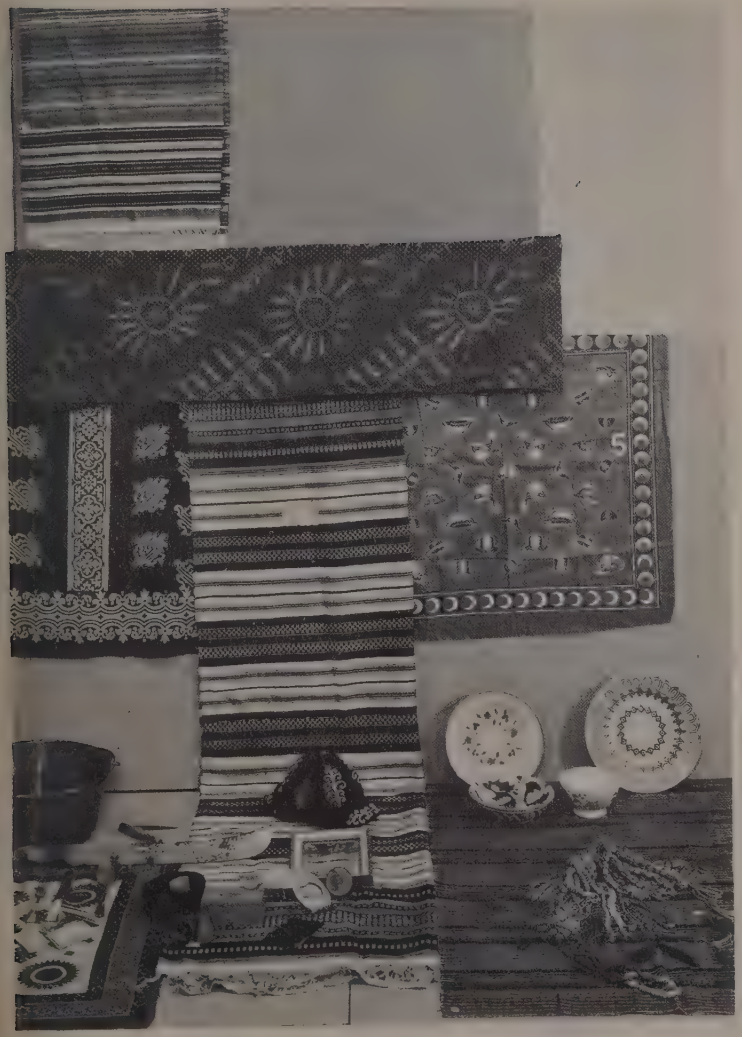


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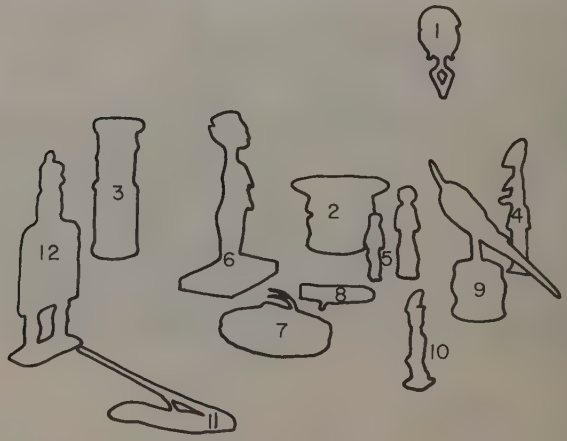
PLATE I

Woodcarving

1. Stylized memorial figurine, upper three-quarters overlaid with brass; height, 23 inches. Gabon; Bakota (Ondombo?).
2. Ceremonial monoxyl stool, seat supported by four squatting (male?) figurines; height, 13 inches, diameter (seat) 22 inches. Guinea Republic; Baga.
3. Ceremonial monoxyl stool (figurines representing thunder spirit Shango and attendants, with rainbow serpent); n.b. unpainted light wood; 27 inches high. Porto Novo, Dahomey; Nago (Yoruba).
4. Polychromed figurine (ceremonial baton, Shango cult); 25 inches high. Porto Novo, Dahomey; Nago (Yoruba).
5. Pair of figurines, male and female (necklace of red trade beads), stained (except face) deep brown; right, 17 inches, and left, 12 inches high. Northern Rhodesia; Luena.
6. Ancestor figurine, deeply stained, eyes of inlaid shell, girdle of large blue glass trade beads; 30 inches high. Gabon; Fang.
7. Oval box, with fitted lid surmounted by sable antelope figurine; stained with pattern of triangles in natural light wood; bowl 17 inches long, 9 inches wide, 10 inches high (including figurine). Northern Rhodesia; "Barotse" (Subya?).
8. Carved snuff-mortar and box; 13 inches long. Northern Rhodesia; Luena.
9. Monoxyl ritual object (helmet mask), with crowned head combining avian (or reptilian) and human features; stained black; 31 inches long (diagonally, crown to point of beak), 25 inches high (crown to floor). Guinea Republic; Baga (Nalu?).
10. "Old style" figurine, painted white (coiffeur stained black and polished); necklace of white trade beads; 12 inches high. Guinea Republic; Baga (?).
11. Hoe, carved of wood in two pieces, joined with rattan, forged iron edge to blade. Senegal; general (Wolof, Mandingo, Serer).
12. Polychromed (orange, black, yellow), Yoruba-type "story board" (ritualistic mnemonic device), essentially Fon style carving. Obverse (displayed) combines Dahomeyan mythological symbols with a representation of an historical episode in the conquest of Dahomey. Setting: interior of European fortress-prison. (Chained monster in dungeon is frequently represented in Dahomeyan cast-brass figurines.) Height, 30 inches.



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